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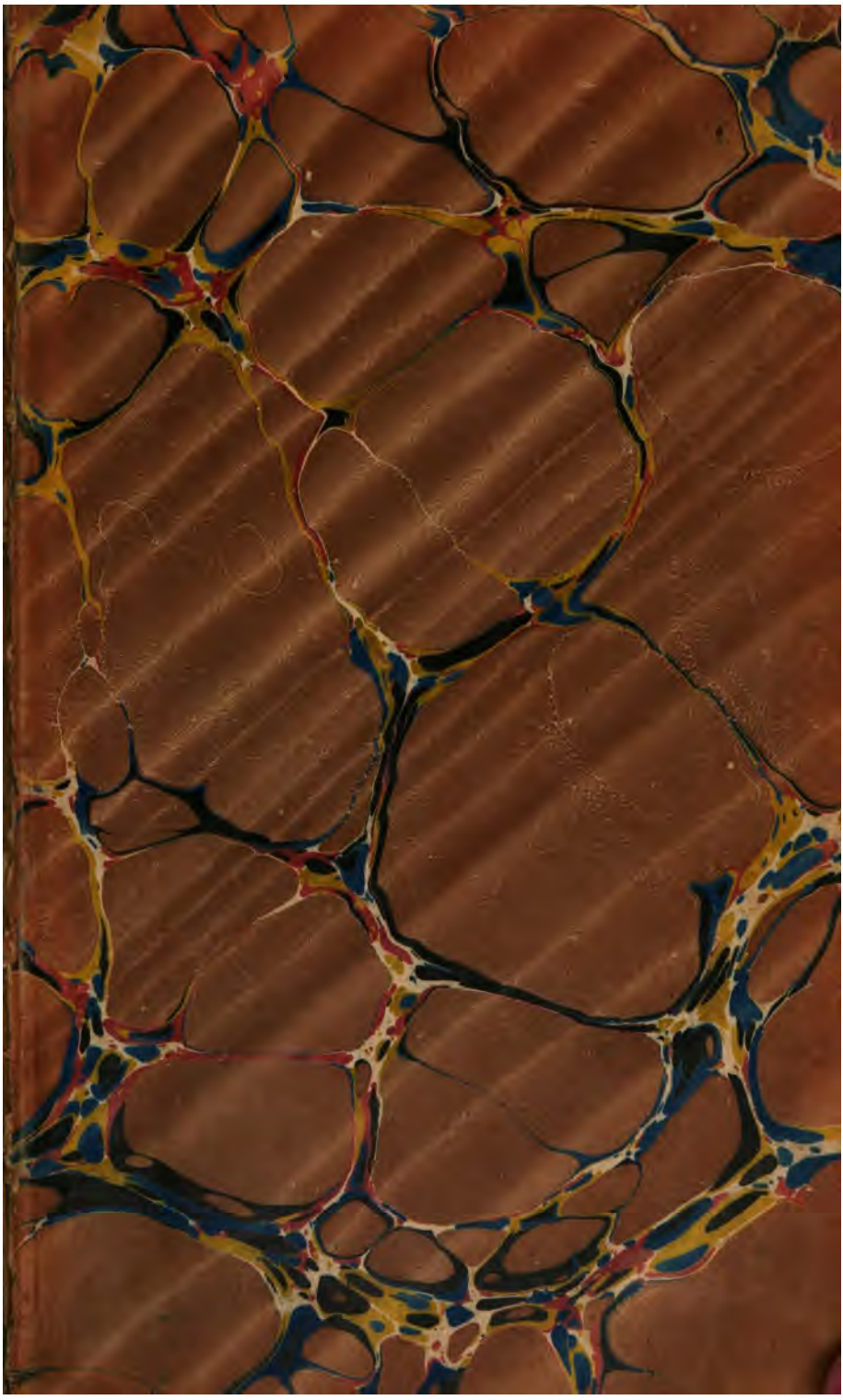
In Memory of
STEPHEN SPAULDING
1907 – 1925
CLASS of 1927
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



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Fourth Edition, with Additions and Corrections.

NO UNION!

BEING

AN APPEAL TO IRISHMEN.

BY MATTHEW WELD, ESQ.
BARRISTER AT LAW.

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PREFACE.

I HAVE this inſtant learned that the Lawyers Corps are ſummoned "to take into conſideration buſineſs of the firſt importance," and I am given to underſtand that AN UNION is the object of their conſideration; which, it is not only underſtood is in agitation, but finally to be agreed upon on the meeting of the enſuing ſeſſion of *the Iriſh Parliament*, by Commiſſioners from England! I alſo underſtand that a pamphlet ſhortly, perhaps while I write, is publiſhed, and written by an Iriſhman in defence of an Union; I have not ſeen it, and therefore this cannot be ſuppoſed to meet it.—However, I loſe no time in thus publicly expreſſing my ſentiments thereon, convinced that it is the duty of every ſubject, and *his birth-right, by the Laws*, to make public his ſentiments; the more eſpecially ſo, as now is the time for the nation to expreſs its diſapprobation of the meaſure; and when our country's intereſts are at ſtake, it were more than treachery and puſillanimity not, as far as it is in the power of every individual, manly to come forward and oppoſe a meaſure ſo fatal to the intereſts of our country. Un-

der this impreſſion I make this appeal, and add my ſignature to it; perhaps it may not be prudent to do ſo, when party ſpirit runs ſo high, and to be poſſeſſed of an independent mind is almoſt conſidered as a crime; however, aware that anonymous productions never attract the public attention, that a name however humble, produces that effect; and wiſhing to call the attention of my country to this meaſure, I have not concealed my name; convinced that an Union is fraught with injury to our beloved Sovereign, and big with danger to the empire; under this conviction, that it is the duty of every Iriſhman to remonſtrate and petition againſt an Union, and expreſs his deteſtation of it as a meaſure in itſelf ſo tyrannical, and *ſo ungenerous on the part of England, when ſhe has an immenſe military force in the country*; let then the capital lead the way (the example will be followed by the reſt of the kingdom) and petition "The Father of his People" againſt a meaſure ſo replete with calamity and deſtruction to Ireland!

Dublin, December 1, 1798.

NO UNION!

&c. &c.

BEFORE we enter upon a ſubject of ſuch importance to Ireland, it may not be amiſs to make a few remarks on the effects an Union had on Scotland, and ſee whether, and how far they apply to Ireland.

SCOTLAND.

IT may be aſſerted, "an Union was highly advantageous to that country," yet, admitting the aſſertion, how does that apply to Ireland, different as to their local ſituation? Scotland ſeparated but by an ideal line from England, and as it were, a diſtant county of the ſame country; if then, the effects of an Union on Scotland, ſo contiguous to Britain, have been prejudicial to her, we may infer, *a fortiori*, from the inſular ſituation of Ireland, how much more detrimental an Union would prove

prove to her than it has done to Scotland. Although the Articles of Union between England and Scotland were not carried into effect until the reign of Queen Anne, yet that country was united under James VI. of Scotland, to England: "Deſtined by *their ſituation* to form one grand monarchy."* But will this hold good with regard to George the Third? *No*——James VI. of Scotland was by birth a Scotſman, and at length effected, (or at leaſt endeavoured ſo) by his inheritance of the two crowns, the union of the *Roſe* and *Thiſtle*. Not ſo with Ireland, whoſe king is reſident in Great Britain, and whoſe legiſlature is independent: ſeparated from that country by her inſular ſituation, you can never unite the *Britiſh Lion* and *Iriſh Shamroc*, without the depreſſion, if not deſtruction of the latter!

If no Union had taken place in Scotland, the natural progreſs of civilization throughout Europe might poſſibly have raiſed that country to a far more proſperous ſtate than it is in at preſent. The pretended felicity of Scotland is completely contradicted by the ſtrong deſcription of Churchill, the ſarcaſtic obſervation of Johnſon, and the cutting reflection of Macklin; fated to perpetual ſterility, that miſerable country had nothing to loſe by a connexion with any other; and there was no danger that her agriculture would

* Vide, Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory of Scotland.

would be injured, *or could*, by the exclusive attention to manufactures, which British avarice introduced: But Ireland, nature has blest with a fertility of soil, which might render her the granary of Europe; she can gain nothing by the emigration of a few manufacturers from England, and let me ask, when the very name of Englishman has been so obnoxious to the late insurgents; what English settler would risque his person or capital, at least for centuries to come, in this country? and manufacturers, even if they did come over, would probably deem no workmen sufficiently skilful, unless imported from England; at all events, they would only withdraw the peasantry from the production of solid agricultural wealth, to a precarious dependance on fancy and fashion: add to this, that when England vouchsafed to ally herself with Scotland, it was a relief to both countries, from a long continuance of a predatory war, inevitable between conterminous countries

England, previous to the accomplishment of the Scottish union, was a rising country, the envy, the admiration of Europe, formed for the enjoyment of that opulence, and the resources which civil liberty ever produces: Is that her present situation? with taxes amounting to a hundred pounds a minute, and a debt of above four hundred millions!!!——The causes of the Scotch

Scotch union * being accompliſhed, were, that the Scottiſh repreſentatives in the Parliament of Scotland were bought; ‖ Sawney bow'd, and bow'd, until he kiſſed the miniſter's footſtool, and was his implicit ſlave: an Union took place, which laid the foundation of two ſucceſſive rebellions in Scotland,† and which beggared and depopulated Edinburgh.

But you may be told, "an Union is your intereſt," "you ſhall obtain ſome few conceſſions," "ſome few trifles to divert and take

* Lord Godolphin, Queen Anne's, Treaſurer, prevailed on her majeſty to grant £20,000, for purchaſing the Scotch Nobles and Gentry, to conſent to the Union; and there is ſubjoined a liſt of thoſe *Worthies* in Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's England, given in on oath, by the Earl of Glaſgow.——Vol. III. p. 777.

‖ Even at the time the Scots Parliament were deliberating on an Union, ſo unpopular was the meaſure, that the common people of Scotland enraged, threatened to come to Edinburgh, and diſſolve the Parliament.

Tindal's Continuation, Vol. III. 776.

† Since the Scottiſh Union, that country is curſed with a *Paper Sign*, for ſums however ſmall—they have Threepenny and Sixpenny Bank Notes! Has not Ireland already ſufficiently ſuffered from Paper Signs—from the difficulty of obtaining change of Guinea Notes, and the numberleſs forgeries committed? But in the Machiavelian ideas of a profligate Miniſter, thoſe are ſtrong proofs of *encreaſing proſperity!*

take off your attention from the effects that will flow from such a measure." Look to the sad history of what resulted from the Union of Scotland with England, and judge: you will perceive it is written in Scottish blood!!! Look to the act of the 1st of Geo. I. c. 54. entituled "*an act for disarming the Highlands of Scotland*," and "all such persons as, on being summoned to give "in their arms, refused so to do, were taken and "enlisted as *common soldiers*, to serve beyond the "seas." This is a proof of the *prosperous* effects of the Scottish Union, and how really disgusting and oppressive it was to the nation at large! And will you believe it, Irishmen, *there were natives of Scotland found base enough* to act as commissioners, and acquiesce to those terms with England! *they sold their country for gold*, and for ever execrated be their memories, dyed in the blood of their fellow citizens slain in the Scotch rebellion which *their* corruption and infamy brought about! You may perhaps enquire, were the articles of the Scotch Union kept inviolate, when signed and effected? They were not! *Magnanimous, generous* Britons broke through them ere three years had elapsed from the accomplishment of the Union! when it was maintained, "that no parts of the Union were unalterable, except those of the Kirk Government and quota of taxes;" not only this language was held in the senate, but the articles of the Union were broken through by the passing of the Malt Act, violatory and sub-

 versive

verſive of thoſe articles! Can then Ireland expect that inviolability that was denied to Scotland?—impoſſible to look for it. If, when Ireland with a Parliament, cannot ſecure the independence of her trade from Britiſh monopoliſts, or the exemption of that trade from commercial reſtrictions, is it to be ſuppoſed ſhe can preſerve the one, or counteract the other, when ſhe ſhall have *no Parliament*, and perhaps but 100 repreſentatives *at moſt*, in the Britiſh ſenate? if we are to judge from Scotland *they will ever inviolably vote againſt their country*, as no one yet has been hardy enough to accuſe a Scotch repreſentative of ever conſulting, by his influence in the Britiſh ſenate, the intereſt of his native land; Do Iriſhmen wiſh for an union on thoſe terms? If they do, let them look to Scotland, and then let them expreſs appropriately if they can, their deteſtation of the effects of an Union! How, let me aſk is Ireland calculated, from her inſular ſituation, to be united with England? if it was intended by nature, why did the Almighty throw his ſeas between England and Ireland if his divine will had been that the two countries ſhould be united! had that been the intention of the Omnipotent, the Iriſh ſea had not preſented itſelf an eternal barrier between the two kingdoms. What, I aſk, is the intention of Miniſters *in forcing* an union upon the Iriſh People, have they not yet got enough of rebellion? it may be pretty diverſion to them, it may be productive of peculation and plunder to ſwell the miniſterial coffer, and the wily miniſter,

may

may nod aſſent to it. But in truth with the pathetic exclamation of the Frogs in the Fable, "It is death to us." What, let me aſk, is the grand ſecurity of the people—one of the chief advantages of the conſtitution, and as it were the maſter-ſpring of the nation?—It is the power of the Repreſentatives of the people, granting or withholding the ſupplies; as M. de Lolme forcibly expreſſes it: "Grievances and ſupply have "ever gone hand in hand." But when an Union is eſtabliſhed, you transfer that great privilege to another nation, whoſe duty and intereſt it will be to attend to her own grievances, NOT TO YOURS. Let it not then be forgotten, that there is an inſtance on record of the Iriſh Parliament paſſing a Two Month's Money Bill*! Unite then, hardy ſons of Ireland, unite and reſiſt your country's downfal, ſpeak it, and it is done! will it, and you have prevented an Union!

Since ſuch has been the effects of an Union on Scotland, how much more deplorable, Iriſhmen, muſt the effects of a ſimilar meaſure prove to Ireland; it may be objected, all this is very true, but if the Parliament of England appoint Commiſſioners to treat for an Union, with others appointed by the Parliament of Ireland, and the terms are finally adjuſted and agreed upon by both; where is the difficulty, or what prevents

* March 23d, 1789.

the ratification of ſuch an incorporating Union? I reply, if the Parliament of England have given up every right of legiſlating for Ireland, (which they have done, by corroborating the independence of the latter in 1782), would not the very Act, of the Parliament of England interfering with that of Ireland, (which the Britiſh Parliament have over and over declared)* be a breach of public faith? I confeſs I feel myſelf at a loſs, to know how the Britiſh Parliament *with all its omnipotence*, can, without a dereliction of thoſe declarations and votes ſo often reiterated, appoint Commiſſioners to annul the Iriſh Parliament, without the loſs of Engliſh reputation, and honor as a nation? Then caſt the veil of oblivion over your animoſities and your ſufferings, wipe out with the tear of affection thoſe religious and political differences that have too long diſtracted this country, and by means of which your enemies, raiſing themſelves on your ruins, have ſo long endeavoured in vain to diſunite you, and cauſe the Iriſh native to ſhed the blood of his countryman! I conjure you by every tie that binds you to your native land, to remonſtrate—to arouſe and reſiſt an Union with England; is this the time for *magnanimous* England, like the crafty bravo, to give the death blow to what was called *the Independence of Ireland!* Is it generous, or is it juſt in that

* Vide, Debates in the Britiſh Senate on the Affairs of Ireland, on the motions of the Duke of Leinſter, (an Engliſh Peer) Lord Moira, and Mr. Fox.

that power to ſeize the unſuſpecting moment of rendering you a contemptible province to aggrandize her inſatiable ambition, intoxicated with her naval ſucceſſes, and madly perſevering in a deſtructive war, when, had ſhe the generoſity, as ſhe has the power, ſhe might effect an honourable peace? Is this a period for broaching ſuch a doctrine, that Ireland *ſhall* be governed by a foreign Legiſlature? By what power or authority, I aſk, human or divine, has England to ſay, "Britons ſhall never be ſlaves." "But we *will* make ſlaves of Iriſhmen," by what right? By none, except the tyrant's plea—neceſſity, "by which he endeavours to accompliſh his deviliſh ends." Is the enlightened eighteenth century the period to tell Iriſhmen, "You muſt *export* your legiſlation," and fall ſubmiſſively at the feet of Britain, *humbly* imploring her that ſhe will *graciouſly* permit us to be her ſlaves? Is this the time when the blood ſtained banner had been nearly planted on the towers of the capital, but for the prevention of the Iriſh yeomanry, to talk of Union? Gracious God! Is it decent in miniſters to inſult, an half-butchered, half-burned country, by propoſing an Union? What is an Union? The Bar of Ireland declare it "an innovation highly dangerous and inexpe-"dient to deliberate at the preſent criſis."—I do not heſitate to pronounce an Union to be an *overthrow of the Conſtitution*, which, when attempted by *others* was ſeverely puniſhed; but there are ſome, it ſeems, that ſince they have become

illuminati,

illuminati, wiſh to effect the deſtruction of the Conſtitution by an Union—*An Union!* Yes, of complicated ruin, beggary and deſolation! theſe the bleſſed ſatellites of a monſtrous, unnatural Union with England.—Having ſhewn how the effects of an Union operated as to Scotland, we come now to other conſiderations, and ſhall treat of the baneful effects of an Union with regard to Ireland, in the different points as they occur.

ABSENTEES.

An Union with England, will triple the number of Abſentees, of which Ireland has ſo long complained, and by which ſhe has ſo long ſuffered. Do you complain of poverty and of beggary? Whoſe lofty caſtle is that, which yonder contemptuouſly frowns on the wretched hovel (or more appropriately, as Twiſs called it, "a Pig-ſty")? Oh! it is a lordly Abſentee's! See, behold the rain and the ſnow deſcend through the roofleſs walls of this habitation of cheerleſs poverty! Behold the wretched owner, attending his periſhing conſort, oppreſſed with diſeaſe, overcome with calamitous poverty, with famine! his little innocents, holding forth their helpleſs, infantine, unpolluted hands to the elements, more humane than mercileſs man! Behold the rapacious agent of the foreign Abſentee has ſeized the hardly-earned pittance of my

induſtry, and left the wretched family to expire! —Does the picture pleaſe you, Iriſhmen?—No, my countrymen, I will not inſult, nor will I ſport with your feelings; I know the Iriſh heart too well to entertain ſuch unworthy ſuſpicions, and that you would exclaim "Blaſted be the "Union that encreaſes the diſtreſſes of our "country, and curſed be he that propoſes it; "may infamy and ſpeedy deſtruction await "him." No, no, we have too many Abſentees already; *the drain of ſpecie, in conſequence of them, is already too great to require its increaſe by the baneful effects of an Union.

POPULATION.

As the ſources of the wealth of a people depend on the exchange of manufacture for ſpecie; no leſs do they ſo on the population of a country. What effect then, let us ingenuouſly inquire, would an Union have on the population of this Country? From the unhappy effects of the late unfortunate rebellion, the population of Ireland

* The drain of ſpecie from this country, paid to *reſident* Abſentees in England, is little ſhort of Two Millions! Commercial men aſſert, that in caſe of an Union, the annual drain of ſpecie paid to Abſentees, would amount to near Five Millions; add to this, how enormous the exchange on London is at preſent, and how much more ſo when an Union would take place, which would conſequently add to the exportation of ſpecie, IF there ſhould then be any left in the country!!

land has very materially ſuffered, by thoſe executed by the civil and military tribunals, as well as by the thouſands ſlain in the field of battle. What effect muſt not this have on Ireland?—It may not be immediately felt, for the harveſt has been ſown, and is ſince got in; but where is the ſturdy huſbandman, "his country's pride," to plant the crops, and attend to the tillage of the enſuing year? in yonder field of battle he lies, "a ſtiffened corſe, ſtretched out, and bleaching in the northern blaſt;" Where can his loſs be ſupplied? not in the military array that ſurrounds you, not in the grim and terrific aſpect of Homſpech's ferocious banditti! not in the ſpruce array of the Engliſh militia, or the Scotch fencibles, with charged bayonets or "*Cut Six*," to force an Union on poor cajoled Ireland! In vain to look to hired mercenaries, for replacing the loſs of your huſbandmen; nothing but the conſequences of peace, and the amelioration of the Iriſh poor, can encourage and extend the population of Ireland.

"But an Union takes place"!—Ireland ſtill bleeding at every pore, ſtill diſmayed by the effects of terroriſm!—who will live in ſuch a country!—the eſtated nobleman? Gothic idea! the deſolated ſtreets of Dublin will be ill calculated for the diſplay of the golden chariot, or the coſtly retinue; London is the place, it is only there a gentleman can live!—Will the gentry reſide

ſide in Ireland? Abſurd! Bath, London, Harrowgate, Margate or Brighthelmſtone are better calculated for the meridian of high life, than the rainy climate of depopulated Ireland!—Will the mechanic or manufacturer reſide in Ireland? No, a depopulated country needs not manufactures; they will emigrate to America, or ſome other ſoil, more propitious to their undertakings, and more grateful for their exertions.—Will the lawyer reſide in ſuch a country? The probability is he may emigrate, if not, he may parade the abdicated hall of the four courts, go each day from court to court, and quickly hear the cryer to an empty court, vociferate, "to-morrow, God ſave the king."—The attorney? He may convert his parchments into drum-heads, become bankrupt, or turn pawn-broker, the only trade that will then flouriſh!—The Phyſician? may publiſh weekly bills of mortality, and "throw his phyſic to the dogs."—the Muſician? may ſtrike the broken ſtrings of Ierne's harp to the diſcordant notes of miſery, compoſe her Lamentations, as a *Dead March*, with the cries of the killed, famiſhed, hanged and wounded!—Such the conſequences, and ſuch the depopulation attendant on an Union.

COMMERCE.

It has been ſaid, "An Union with England would extend our commerce, the ſea would

then be open to us; there would then be an equalization of the channel trade." Are we ſure of that? We cannot, however, forget an addreſs from the Commons of England * preſented to William the Third, againſt the woollen trade; his anſwer was, "He would take care what was "complained of ſhould be prevented," which is farther corroborated by his letter to Earl Galway† in Ireland, dated Kenſington, July 15th, 1698, where among other matters, that he muſt "make "effectual laws for the linen manufacture, and "*diſcourage* as far as poſſible, the woollen manu- "facture, &c."

(Signed) W R.

Can then much commercial advantages be expected from a country that has ever reſtricted our trade and cramped our manufactures? But, "ſhe allows us the excluſive manufacture of linen," *becauſe* ſhe cannot equal us in it! O *magnanimous* England, you will at length concede us an equalization of the channel trade, wonderful conceſſion!

the

* Vide, Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's Hiſtory of England.

By this it will appear, that at ſo early a period as Wm. 3d. the policy of England was to keep down the trade of this country, leſt it ſhould rival that of England; which is further corroborated by a petition of certain towns on the coaſt of Wales to the Britiſh Parliament, *complaining of the Iriſh catching herrings at Wexford!!!*——Vide Commercial Reſtraints.

† The Earl of Galway, was a General of K. William III. and one of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland. A. D. 1697.

the Great Nation when compared to you falls very far ſhort of your unbounded generoſity! You abuſe France for her tyranny in robbing Switzerland of her independence by force of the bayonet, and how do you act to Ireland? with an immenſe military force in this country, ſtill bleeding from rebellion, you are about to annihilate her independence, and forſooth grant her an equalization of the channel trade! You that are ſo prompt to perceive faults in France, fall into that very crime yourſelf, by your endeavours to annihilate Ireland as a nation! Yet you will *condeſcend* to allow beggar'd, bankrupt Ireland, to partake of your taxes, and your monſtrous national-debt, to give a penſion to the *great* Duke of Wirtemberg, or ſome other foreign potentate, and allow her the mighty wonderful advantage of ſelling the produce of her induſtry *on the ſame terms*, you diſpoſe of yours, but the purchaſe to be the enſlaving of Ireland.!!! Oh, for the verſification of a Pope, the point and force of a Swift, and the fire of an Addiſon, to panegyrize and tranſmit to poſterity, your *exalted* benevolence!

But "there will be an equalization of the channel trade:" are you ſure of that? will the ſooty manufacturers of Birmingham, Sheffield, Mancheſter and Leeds conſent to this, did not their remonſtrances to the Britiſh Senate, ſtrike conviction to the Britiſh Miniſter, when they petitioned againſt Orde's famed propoſitions, while

he was Secretary in Ireland, and did not the Miniſter ſuddenly abandon what he had ſo inconſiderately undertaken? follow their example, let Ireland's voice be heard, united to its gracious King, *but inimical to Union*: never let her permit an Union perfidiouſly undertaken by thoſe "who can ſmile and murder while they ſmile," to be forced on Ireland's virtuous ſons. Let Ireland but ſpeak, and *ſhe* muſt be attended to. But ſuppoſing an equalization of the channel trade, where are your merchants?—perhaps emigrated or tranſported to a foreign clime, their warehouſes converted into guard-rooms or priſons! where are your manufacturers? perhaps undergoing a ſimilar fate, the reſult of the diſtreſſes, the poverty and the calamitous events attendant on the recent rebellion; even admitting England to barter conceſſion for an Union, as it has been already obſerved, what manufacturers would venture themſelves, their capitals, or their families, to ſuch a diſtreſſed country as Ireland? none can be weak enough to ſuppoſe it. Stripped of her population, and deſolated by rebellion, what conceſſions of a mercantile nature can prove of advantage to her? to the thirſty, languid, fainting traveller on Arabia's deſart ſands, you may in vain offer gold as uſeleſs is it to him as the inhoſpitable ſand on which he periſhes, one draught of water would relieve him more than all that pageantry can beſtow, what then is offering merchandiſe and traffic to Ireland at this moment, but inſulting her?

give

give her peace, but no Union, and you prove yourſelf her friend. Hume the hiſtorian, ſpeaking of the Scottiſh Union, makes this remark, that it but " kept alive that mutual hatred between " the nations which had been carried to the " greateſt extremity, *and required time to allay it.*"* How much more applicable and more forcibly does this obſervation *now* apply to Ireland, on on the ſubject of Union, than it did *then* to Scotland? England will no doubt endeavour to allure Ireland by throwing out conceſſions to deceive the unwary, ſhe may elevate the architectural column, to flatter Iriſh pride and folly, conſtruct new ſtreets and rear princely palaces! poor compenſation for Iriſh independence. The great officers of ſtate, with *minds ever open to conviction*, upon the touchſtone application of five or ſix thouſand pounds a year, *penſion to be paid by Ireland*, will very ſoon *diſcover the expediency* of an Union! and the walls of that Houſe of Commons that ſo lately reſounded with the cry of *independant Ireland*!! confirmed by a vote of the Britiſh legiſlature, will ſoon ring changes on the vaſt advantage an Union will bring.—*Advantages?* yes, if oppreſſion, miſery, bankruptcy and poverty are ſuch to a nation, an Union, will effect THOSE ADVANTAGES. Vain then and ſilly to talk of commerce being encreaſed by an Union. By whom, ſuppoſing an equalization

* Vide, Hume's hiſtory of England, Vol. VI. p. 21.

zation of the channel trade to take place, would the imports of manufacture and merchandiſe, from the Indies and from England be conſumed? by the ſhop-keeper? No, become a bankrupt, his ſhop cloſed, he has emigrated to America. By the Nobleſſe and Gentry? No, involved in extravagance and diſſipation, they are exhibiting their equipages in London the emporium of the empire, what fate then awaits the merchant but ruin and certain bankruptcy? laden with goods purchaſed at a vaſt expence, he returns from the Atlantic, or from the Indian ocean, he comes to Dublin, a depopulated, beggarly town, inhabited but by ſqualidneſs and wretchedneſs, a ſecond Edinburgh, rendered ſuch from a ſimilar cauſe, an Union with England: here is printed in capitals, "this houſe to be ſold for a third of its value, as the ſhop-keeper has become inſolvent; there "a bankrupt's ſale!" But it may be ſaid, "altho' Dublin will be ruined, Cork and Waterford will be benefited!" That is in plain Engliſh to ſay, we will deſtroy and cut off the head and metropolis of the nation, and very likely one of the legs and arms may ſurvive the amputation! O ſkilful Chirurgeons! may you never operate upon this iſland! But if the country be depopulated by the emigration and oppreſſion attendant on an Union, in God's name, how could any part of the kingdom, *however* favoured by commerce, flouriſh? This then is the ſeaſon, previous to the meeting of *your Parliament*, boldly to ſpeak out

out, and declare how obnoxious and detrimental an Union would be to Ireland. If you quietly ſubmit, without remonſtrating againſt it, the opportunity paſſed by will never again return.

The motives that induce the Miniſter to effect an Union of Ireland with Great-Britain.

In accompliſhing an Union, there are ſeveral points highly favourable to the Miniſter. The Iriſh Repreſentatives in the Britiſh Commons would then ſhare the miniſterial loaves and fiſhes, and like their *worthy* compeers, the Scotch Repreſentatives, ſupporting the Miniſter, add to his now irreſiſtible phalanx, and place him hereafter, *however* corrupt, or deſtructive of the liberty of the ſubject, beyond the reach or power of parliamentary impeachment, which the wiſdom of our progenitors had placed in the Parliament of England, under the laws and conſtitutions of the realm. Add to this, the fortunate, well-tim'd excuſe, that would conſequently follow from an Union taking place, of keeping an immenſe army in Ireland. Witneſs Scotland for the proof of this poſition: See how great the neceſſity there would be of *keeping down* a duped and *beſotted* nation, that has an Union *forced on it.*

But theſe are not the only advantages that will reſult to the Miniſter. Poor bankrupt Ireland muſt then bear her quota of the immenſe overgrown national debt of England, multiplying every

every hour the war continues, and of conſequence, Ireland's burden muſt be enormouſly encreaſed. The air we breathe, the light that will then but render the miſery of Ireland conſpicuous, muſt be taxed—the luxuries of the rich, and even the diſtreſſes of the poor, to prop the tottering pile, overpowered with the debt and taxes of Great-Britain!!!—Theſe are ſome of the *proſperous* conſequences that will inevitably reſult from the Union. Add to this too, that the nation had been loud in its repeated declarations for Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation, in which, had it been unanimous, it muſt have ſucceeded, and we would not now have had to lament the recent Rebellion, and the unhappy, but too ſucceſsful attempts, to diſſeminate bigotted diſſenſions in religion, eſtranging the Catholics from the Proteſtants, as if we were not the ſame natives of the one and ſame ſoil; but an Union will prevent both from ever taking place, and will ſo ſtrengthen the coloſſal power of Miniſters, that altho' they may be as deſerving of puniſhment as a Strafford, they will be placed beyond the power of Parliament.—Let then the Proteſtant and Catholic join hands; it is the cauſe of their country; their diſunion, which the Miniſter has ſo long endeavoured to accompliſh, (like the ſeparated bundle of rods) will but weaken Ireland's efforts, and empower him to eſtabliſh an Union. This is the cauſe of the Proteſtant—of the Catholic—of the Preſbyterian

—of

—of the Quaker—of every ſect—of all. It is the cauſe of the Iriſh nation—" *it ſhall, it muſt be heard!*"

AMERICA.

America had no legiſlation when under the power of England. When ſhe had to complain of a breach of public faith, and violation of a ſolemn treaty or unjuſt taxation, her complaints muſt be preferred, borne by a long navigation acroſs the Atlantic to the Britiſh Senate; where her virtuous Franklin was ſcoffed at, and her complaints, by him preferred, were unattended to. But it may be ſaid, how does this apply to Ireland? It is anſwered, it would apply in caſe of an Union, not as to the compariſon of the diſtance of the great continent of America and the contiguity of this iſland; but it holds good ſo far, that if Ireland has any remonſtrance to make, any petition to prefer, it muſt be to the Parliament of the empire, (as it is preſumed it will be then called) for Ireland will then have no Parliament of her own, to foſter her manufactures, her agriculture, like an indulgent parent; her real intereſts will conſequently be loſt or overlooked, in the more *conſequential* intereſts of England; charity will then begin at home; none for ſturdy Iriſh ſolicitants!!—Ireland muſt then ſuffer for the *juvenile* indiſcretions of an elder ſiſter, who has ſquandered her dower in deſtructive war and unſucceſsful ſubſidy!

It is high time, then, that England ſhould learn, and bear in mind the conſequences of her conduct to America—ſhe ſhould "remember and fear to tranſgreſs;" ſhe ſhould further recollect, that ſhe actually *forced* America to ſhake off her connection, and that had conciliation been adopted, America had ſtill been a part of one great empire, and had not been wreſted from England by the intrigues of France, and moſt probably the French revolution would not have taken place. I here cannot but quote a part of the ſpeech of his Grace the Duke of Grafton, on the affairs of America; it is (if we can credit the reports of the Houſes of Parliament of the Iriſh Legiſlature) ſo applicable to this hapleſs land, and proves how France, taking advantage of the impolitic conduct of England, has for ever deprived her of the continent of America. Thoſe that do not ſee the analogy muſt be dull indeed. On the 31ſt of October, 1776, the Duke of Grafton made a Speech in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers, with regard to the conduct of Miniſters, of which the following is an extract*. His Grace enumerated "the meaſures of Adminiſtration "with reſpect to America, which he declared he "would oppoſe as long as his legs would carry "him to that Houſe. He averred from autho-"rity unqueſtionable, that *they had driven the* "*Provincials to ſeek protection from our natural* "*enemies:*

* Vide Parliamentary Debates in the Britiſh Senate, A. D. 1776.

" *enemies:* that France had all along *supplied* " *them with arms,* and every kind of military " ſtores; *that a Member of the Congreſs was now* " *reſident at Paris,* and actually in treaty with " that Court."

Would not one imagine they were reading a part of the Report of the Secret Committee of Ireland? If then ſuch has been the conduct of England (to expreſs his Grace's words) " *as to* " *drive the Provincials to ſeek protection from our* " *natural enemies,*" while France was under a Monarchic government, how, let me aſk, would not, might not the meaſure of an Union, *drive* the people of Ireland (which God avert) *to ſeek protection from our natural enemies, even under a Republican form of government,* that has already effected ſo much, that has and is aiming all its energies againſt England, and that has ſo very far excelled, in its ſucceſſes whatever had been attempted by Monarchic France? But it may be ſaid, " as France has made thoſe attempts, bet- " ter to be united to England than to France." But how are we in this dilemma? Where the neceſſity of being added, a contemptible province to either? Add to this, if an Union with the former, was to prove the very direct means of eſtranging us from, and uniting us to, the latter, how impolitic would it be in Great-Britain, merely to indulge her national pride, by the ſacrifice of Iriſh independence, and run the riſque

of Ireland's ſeparation from England for ever? Is it generous, then, noble, prudent or politic, for England to diſguſt the people of Ireland, who had remained ſo faithful to England during a formidable rebellion, when it had been by the inſurgents, conſidered as treaſonable to act ſo? let England anſwer, and let England recollect that but for the yeomanry and the majority of the people of Ireland, ſhe would now have had to regret the loſs of, inſtead of propoſing an Union to, Ireland, and this country had now been a republic, ſeparated probably from England for ever! Oh, *grateful* Engliſhmen, how can I ſufficiently expreſs the opinion and feelings of the people of this country at conduct ſuch as this! Is then the obnoxious meaſure of an Union, the way to preſerve Ireland to England?

"Credat Judeus Apella, non ego".

It is however true, an Union with England will but confirm our Union, and will *unite all*, royaliſts and others, to oppoſe oppreſſion! Begin then, *redoubted* England, confirm an Union, and you will INDISSOLUBLY HAVE ESTABLISHED OURS: Recollect, my countrymen, that the American tea-tax and ſtamp-act, ſhone as ſtars, to liberate the Americans from a code of bondage; and ſimilar cauſes, both in the phyſical and political world, have invariably been productive of ſimilar effects.

It

It has been aſſerted, " Now is the time for an " Union with England; in time of peace we " could not effect it."—It has been as properly replied, " The advantages you ſeize hold of in " time of war, of forcing an Union againſt the " inclination and wiſhes of a people, are diſho- " nourable, and if you *dare* not propound it in " time of peace, you ſhould not endeavour to " effect it in time of war."

At this moment England has been ſucceſsful; flushed and vain of her naval operations, Engliſh pride is up; but it does not follow that Ireland is to be ſacrificed to that pride: England has now an immenſe army of mercenaries in this country; and may think herſelf certain of ſucceſs in her own political arithmetic. But let her recollect, " the race is not to the ſwift, nor the battle to the ſtrong;" let her too recollect that political life is chequered with misfortunes as well as that of the individual, that the tide of ill-fortune may turn, and in future wars, Ireland become the bone of contention, if not a colony to France, (if we are to judge from the many and recent attempts of that power) when diſguſted by an Union with England. Recollect, then, my beloved countrymen, that I have ſhewn, (or at leaſt endeavoured to do ſo) that Scotland has not benefited by the Union, that even if ſhe has, it does not apply to Ireland. That your abſentees will be tripled, to the irretrievable detriment of our native

tive land—that our commerce will not be increaſed *even* from an equalization of the channel trade, that our manufactures will not be benefited by Engliſh ſettlers, as they will not in all probability come over to ſuch a diſtracted country—that our commerce muſt conſequently decreaſe from emigration, attendant on that oppreſſive meaſure, an Union. Poverty and oppreſſion being the ever unvarying cauſes of emigration. How abſurd then to expect wealthy ſettlers to give up their comforts, and come to Ireland? I have farther ſhewn the motives that induce the miniſter to accompliſh this meaſure, it being ever the wiſh and the intereſt of every miniſter to effect it.——I have ſhewn how America, through the impolitic conduct of his Majeſty's Miniſters, has been alienated from the imperial diadem; and have pointed out the probable reſult of the attempts of the enterprizing Republic—France, ſhould an Union be effected.

The deciſion reſts with you, whether you will leave a poſſibility of our being annexed to France, at a future period, or remain as you are already, united to our moſt gracious Sovereign, and to England; or *baſely* ſurrender your Rights to Engliſh monopoliſts, by not reſiſting an Union. It reſts with you, it reſts *with thoſe* that call themſelves *your repreſentatives*; if they do not *ſell your Rights*, they CANNOT BE BOUGHT, and conſequently an Union *cannot* be eſtabliſhed.

But

But ſhould the Iriſh Parliament take upon themſelves to annihilate the Conſtitution of the Lords and Commons of Ireland,† (by an Act of incorporating Union) this act would, *ipſo facto*, be void and null; AND THE RIGHT OF CHOOSING A FORM OF GOVERNMENT WOULD AGAIN REVERT TO THE BODY OF THE PEOPLE AT LARGE.*

People of Ireland then, thoſe I mean whoſe love for Ireland *has not yet been ſold*, whoſe affection *has not* been corrupted, and whoſe honour *has not* been purchaſed; on you do I call,—ſpeak boldly out!—This is the time; now or never. If you are indifferent, you are undone. Addreſs then, our beloved Sovereign, and petition againſt an Union. IRELAND'S UNITED VOICE, *in peals of thunder ſhall then be heard*, IT SHALL BE HEARD—at laſt ſtrike conviction, and ſtun the domineering Miniſter, with Ireland's emphatic exclamation of—NO UNION!!!

* Vide Locke on Government.

† Even under the government of deſpotic France, the *Tiers Etats* were aſſembled on queſtions of magnitude and importance, to collect and make known the ſentiments of the people; and in Holland, even under the Stadtholder, aſſembly of the States General were called to aſcertain the will of the people.—Why ſhould not the wiſhes of the people of Ireland be known on a queſtion of ſuch importance to the people and to poſterity, as an Union—and why, or how could the Parliament of Ireland *mortgage* Iriſh independence to Britiſh monopoly?!!!

THE END.

2

THE

UNITED IRISHMEN,

A

T A L E;

FOUNDED ON FACTS.

WAR, HORRID WAR, OUR THOUGHTFUL WALKS INVADES,
AND STEEL NOW GLITTERS IN THE MUSES SHADES.

POPE.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

1798.

DEDICATION.

TO THE

GOOD PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

BRETHREN, I hope you'll condeſcend
To read theſe pages to the end;
The Tale, I muſt confeſs, is ſad,
But better cannot now be had;
For how can we find Peace or Joy,
Where man his neighbour will deſtroy?
Who is commanded from above,
Even—as his own ſelf to love.
But ſo it is,—theſe horrid times
Abound with moſt atrocious crimes;
Such—as muſt give us cauſe to fear
Our Country's ruin is too near—

For

For 'tis in *Holy-writ* decided,
An houſe, againſt itſelf divided,
In oppoſition, hand to hand,
Can never be ſuppos'd to ſtand.

My Friends, I know, that this production,
Shews but a part of that deſtruction,
(Small part indeed!) which far and wide,
Has raged, and ſpread on ev'ry ſide;
Yet tho' 'tis ſmall, in it you'll ſee,
The bitter produce of that TREE,
Miſcall'd the *Plant of Liberty.*

THE

UNITED IRISHMEN,

A TALE.

PATT B——N, a farmer, long reſided
Near *Wicklow*, and had oft divided
'Mongſt his poor neighbours lib'ral bounty,
As any other in the county;
For he, good man, had ſuch an heart,
As never grudg'd to give a part
To thoſe that needed of his ſtore,
And Providence ſtill ſent him more;
Becauſe, to give he was moſt willing,
His barns were ev'ry ſeaſon filling,
And when the market made them empty,
'Twas always follow'd with more plenty;
And therefore, he was nothing worſe;
Such emptyings only fill'd his purſe.

He alſo had good ſtore of kine,
Of cocks and hens, geeſe, ducks and ſwine,
Horſes and bullocks, fitly broke,
Ready in cart or plough to yoke;
And with all theſe,—for he was able,—
He loved, and kept a plenteous table,
That never wanted beef or beer,
Or any other hearty cheer,
For friends or neighbours to take part on,
When coming from a fair or patron;
With ſix young children, and a wife,
Who were the comforts of his life.

It ſo fell out, as you ſhall hear,—
That on a croſs-day of this year,
Often remark'd, as old wives ſay,
To be a moſt unlucky day;
Some friends, from *Wexford*, riding by,
As to the road his houſe was nigh,
They all diſmounted, and went in,
For two of them were of his kin;
With hearty welcome PADDY met them,
And in his parlour gladly ſet them,

Brought them a can of home-brew'd ſtout,
Saying, *Here's to you*; *drink about*;
And ſo they did, and hearty too,
No ſlouches they, give them their due.

The beer and ſalutations ended,
They roſe to go, as they intended,
But PADDY ſwore,—As I'm a ſinner,
This day with me you'll take a dinner.
Content were they, for moſt are willing
To ſtay, where they can get good filling,
So down they ſat, for t'other ſup,
And had their horſes all put up.

The wife, who never yet was ſparing,
To treat her friends, began preparing,
To get things ready, as was fit,
And clap'd a turkey on the ſpit;
Made up the fire, put on the pot,
Greens from the garden quickly got,
With ſlice of bacon, ſhe threw in it,
And had it boiling in a minute;
While our good friends together ſat,
And enter'd on a ſerious chat.

PADDY,

PADDY, ſays TERENCE, don't you ſee,
Poor *Ireland's* caſe and miſery,
How long we have been ſore oppreſs'd,
But few, of our complaints redreſs'd.
But few indeed; and, that to quiet us,
For fear the people ſhould grow riotous,
We grant, they gave us longer leaſes,
And ſome relief, in other caſes;
But what are theſe,—not worth a name,
Compar'd with thoſe we juſtly claim.
If I've a right to wear this coat,
Pray, have I not the ſame, to vote,
For him,—who tho' he will not aſk me
For my conſent,—will freely tax me,
In *Parliament*;—juſt at his pleaſure,
And rob me of my hard-earn'd treaſure.
This is my right,—and my profeſſion
Should never hinder my poſſeſſion;
Nor any man, who might be fit,
In that ſame Parliament to ſit;
Nor hinder any Lord to ſpeak in't,
Who has a right, his ſeat to take in't.

This is my right; and I'll ſay further,—
That ſurely it is worſe than murther;
That our poor *Clergymen* ſhould be
Supported by meer charity;
While thoſe, to whom the Tythe we're giving,
Poſſeſs each valuable living;
Their *Biſhops* in their coaches jogging,
While ours, muſt live in humble lodging.—
'Tis hard indeed, and harder ſtill,
(But our good rulers have their will,)
That many families ſhould be
Reduc'd to loweſt poverty;
Perhaps to beg, upon the lands,
Once wreſted from their Father's hands;
Now, held by thoſe who will not know them,
And, hardly, charity beſtow them.
This is a truth,—PADDY, you know it,
And ——— *Map*, does fully ſhew it.
There you may ſee,—tho' we're derided,
How *Ireland's lands* are all divided;
Mark'd with the names of old Proprietors,
Which, on pretence that they were rioters,

Were

Were forfeited, were ſeiz'd, were given,
To any ſcoundrel under heaven.
If theſe a'n't grievances, I wonder
What worſe, could any labour under:
But from all theſe, I hope our nation,
Will ſoon obtain *Emancipation.*

So TERENCE ended,—PATT reply'd,
What you have ſaid, can't be deny'd,
We labour, to ſupport a Crown,
That with oppreſſions bear us down.
Too true it is,—but I'm unletter'd,
And cannot tell, how 'twill be better'd;
For Government is ſtill the winner,
So let us now ſit down to dinner.

Then, down they ſat about the table,
Each help'd himſelf, as he was able,
And freely, to their trenchers take on,
Plenty of turkey, greens and bacon:
With quick diſpatch, they eat their meal,
And mix'd it well with good ſtout ale:

Then

Then off went cloth, and plates and mug,
And in their room, a ſmoaking jug
Of whiſkey punch, appear'd to crown,
Th' entertainment, and to drown,
For a ſhort time, in diſſipation,
The ſorrows of the Iriſh nation.
Now, glaſſes round the table coaſted,
GRATTAN and FOX were loudly toaſted,
And heartily they drank, and carol'd,
HARVEY, ROACH, and Lord FITZGERALD.*

When HUGH O'FL—Y ſaid, PATT,
I took ſome notice, you ſaid, that
You could not tell, as you're unletter'd,
How poor old Ireland might be better'd.
Now I will tell you,—don't you ſee
How *France* has gain'd her liberty?
'Twas not by humble mean ſubmiſſion,
That they obtain'd a quick tranſition
From ſlavery to liberty, that now,
The trembling nations round them bow,

To

* They had not heard of his Lordſhip's death.

To their controul, and vanquiſh'd, yield,
To them, the honours of the field.
No.—It was by force they broke,
From off their necks, the galling yoke
Of tyranny.—That, only can,
Recover the loſt *Rights of Man*;
And ſhew the world, what now they ſee,
The *people*'s high *ſov'reignity*.
By this, friend PATT, we ſhall be better'd,
And all our limbs from chains unfetter'd;
This, only this, can ſet us free,
And ſave from Engliſh tyranny.
And now,—for this we are preparing,
Ready our ſtandard is for rearing;
We've made a noble large ſubſcription,
Arms are prepar'd, of each deſcription,
In vaſt abundance, firelock, pike,
They wait for us,—then let us ſtrike,
The blow deciſive, that ſhall be,
The Æra of our liberty;
The *Engliſh* then, ſhall know and rue,
What our *united* force can do.

I wonder

I wonder, you have not obſerv'd,
What TERENCE ſaid; it might have ſerv'd
To ope your eyes.—*It was to quiet us,*
Leſt we ſhould happen to grow riotous,
That they were lib'ral. Let our powers,
Increaſe their fears, and all is ours.
Now, PADDY, we've no time to loſe;
Call for your boots, take off your ſhoes,
And come to *Hacket's-town*, and ſee,
What mighty power, and force have we.

He ſaid,—and drinking the laſt ſup,
With one accord, they all got up,—
Took horſe in haſte, and off they went,
Big, with the proſpect of th' event.
There, when they came,—PADDY ſoon found,
A num'rous force ſpread all around;
Such force, as he had never ſeen,
Four thouſand men upon the green,
With *pikes* and *guns* compleatly arm'd,
He ſaw,—and with the ſight was charm'd;
His friends receiv'd his warmeſt thanks,
And with glad heart, he join'd the ranks.

My Readers now, no doubt, will think,
That night afforded much good drink,
And ſo it did;—for ev'ry ſtore,
Was drain'd and ſearch'd to find out more.

The morning came,—a day of doom,
A day of darkneſs and of gloom;
For ever be that day forgot!
From under Heaven, its record blot!
Day of defeat, diſtreſs and fear,
Be it not number'd in the year!

The morning came.—Th' *united* force
March'd forward with a ſteady courſe;
On their approach,—the *Army* fell
Back to their Barrack:—who can tell
The joys,—the ſhouts,—that then reſounded,
Of victory, and foes confounded?
But O!—deluſive expectation,
Their joy was but of ſhort duration;
HUME, with his troop, fell on their rear,
The broad ſword knew not how to ſpare;

HARDY,

HARDY, and GARDNER, quick return'd,
Each breaſt with martial fury burn'd,—
The infantry came forward firing,
The ground was ſtrew'd with men expiring;
The reſt, defenceleſs, unprotected,
Fled ev'ry way, as fear directed.
PATT ran as faſt as heels could carry,
Nor did his friends behind him tarry;
They fled together in a group,
'Till overtaken by a troop
Of horſe——a piſtol bullet
Found paſſage thro' poor PADDY's gullet.
Lifeleſs he fell upon the ground,
And his laſt breath paſs'd thro' the wound.

O'F——Y turning quick about,
His pointed pike held fiercely out,
Thruſt at an horſe-man;—miſs'd his aim,
Then down the weighty ſabre came,
Full on his ſhoulder,—quite unſtrung
His arm,—on bleeding ſinews hung;

Then

Then falling, in the mortal ſtrife,
The horſes trampled out his life.

TERENCE alone, of all that went
With PADDY, liv'd to tell th' event,
For him it was reſerv'd to tell,
How his dear friends and couſins fell.
How ſhall I tell it? oft he cried,
To her who, late an happy bride,
Enjoy'd his love, and tender care,
Who never had a thought to ſpare,
Ought, that his wife, or children needed,
But ſtill, in acts of love exceeded.
Yet, ſhe muſt hear it, ſoon or late,
O BIDDY! BIDDY! what ſad ſtate
Has our mad folly brought you to?
That day, that fatal day, I rue,
When we—received with friendſhip kind,
In your full houſe, ſo freely din'd;
Where all was plenty, all was peace.
O now! how alter'd is the caſe?
Your huſband dead, your proſpects ended,
No hope, that they will e'er be mended:

Your

Your children, now, no more will ſee
Their father,—on whoſe cheerful knee
They've often ſat;—or if they ſhould,
'Twill be his corſe, beſmear'd with blood;
O woeful ſight,—a ſight, I fear,—
My grief withholds the briny tear,
Not one drop trickles from mine eye,
My heart's a ſtone, I cannot cry.

O fatal day!—I muſt repeat it;
What pen can write, what tongue relate it?
The fields with bodies cover'd o'er,
The ground all drench'd with human gore;
The ſhrieks and tears of widow'd wives,
The helpleſs childrens mournful cries!
Are theſe the *rights* we vainly ſought for,
The liberty we madly fought for?
Say,—have the dead at length enjoy'd it,
Or, rather, have we not deſtroy'd it?
With a mild Government not content,
And fiercely on rebellion bent;
Forth to the war, we went, and we,
Have met our fatal deſtiny.

We've

We've ſacrific'd our lives, and all,
That ever man could precious call;
For what?—for meer deluſive dreams,
Of greater liberty——for ſchemes
Republican, or *Catholic*——they're fled,
Like empty viſions of the head,
And we're now number'd with the dead.

Perhaps the living think not ſo;
Perhaps they'd rather wiſh to go
Onward, and puſh the buſineſs further,
Thro' ſeas of blood, and heaps of murther;
Perhaps the *Ignis-fatuus* ſtill,
May charm their ſight, and hold their will,
Faſt in its chains, a longer ſeaſon,
Quite deaf to all the calls of reaſon;
But if our countrymen, who fell
In theſe ſad broils, could riſe and tell;
I'm certain, what I've juſt now ſaid,
Would be the language of the dead.

O that the living now would think,
While yet they ſtand on ruin's brink,

That

That one ſtep further,—they may be
Loſt in a dark eternity!
Will they, be benefited then,
By all the ſchemes of reſtleſs men,
By ſacrificing to ambition,
To turbulence and to ſedition,
Their families, their lives, their nation,
And more than all, their ſoul's ſalvation?
Ah! no,—They will not;—to their coſt,
Their ev'ry hope, and wiſh is loſt.

Surely I muſt be mad or doting,
If to obtain the right of voting,
(When vacant ſeats may give occaſion,)
For gentlemen of my perſuaſion.
'Tis true, we are not repreſented,
But may we not be well contented,
When thouſands—we need not be told,
Who have not freedom, or freehold—
Of all perſuaſions, are content,
Tho' in the ſame predicament.
Or,—that our Clergy may poſſeſs
A pariſh, or a dioceſs.

Or,

Or,—that the children of a race,
Who once diſturb'd the public peace,
Should be reſtor'd to what they've loſt,
That I, at ſuch amazing coſt,
Should venture all, and freely bleed,
Surely I muſt be mad indeed!
For what improvement in a ſtate,
Is worth a purchaſe half ſo great?

This ſad ſoliloquy, thus ended,
TERENCE, as he at firſt intended,
When night came on, with heavy heart
Set forward, that he might impart,
With tender caution, to the wife,
The loſs of her poor huſband's life.
But ah!—like moſt diſaſt'rous things,
The diſmal news had ſwifter wings:
An hour before he came, ſhe heard,
What from the firſt, ſhe greatly fear'd;
And when ſhe heard it,—ſad to tell,
With ſhrieks, in ſtrong convulſions fell.

Thus

Thus,—in the jaws of death he found her,
Her friends, and children ſtanding round her,
With heavy ſorrow all oppreſs'd,
Amaz'd, confounded, and diſtreſs'd;
On ſeeing him,—ſhe loudly cried,
O TERRY! TERRY! ſhriek'd and died.

O that her neighbours may take care,
The infant progeny to rear!
To teach them each Religious Duty,
To ſhew them Virtue's genuine beauty;
That their poor father's ſad example,
May be to them, a warning ample,
With care t'avoid theſe dreadful harms,
The conſequence of taking arms,
And joining a rebellious race,
Againſt their *King* and *Country*'s peace;
That they may live kind Heaven to pleaſe,
And ſee on earth, more proſp'rous days.

FINIS.

3

THE

CHARGE

OF

SIR FRANCIS BULLER, BART.

ONE OF THE COMMISSIONERS

APPOINTED FOR TRYING

ARTHUR O'CONNOR, FAVEY, BINNS, ALLEN AND LEARY,

ON A

CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON,

AT MAIDSTONE, ON WEDNESDAY 11th APRIL, 1798,

TO THE

GRAND JURY,

WHO WERE SWORN ON THAT COMMISSION.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY JOHN EXSHAW, No. 98, GRAFTON-STREET.

1798.

THE

CHARGE

OF

SIR FRANCIS BULLER, BART.

The Grand Jury being ſworn, Mr. Juſtice BULLER delivered to them a charge to the following effect.

" *Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,*

" AS we are convened here under a commiſſion which his Majeſty has been pleaſed to direct for ſpecial purpoſes, and not in the ordinary courſe of the adminiſtration of juſtice, it may naturally be expected that I ſhould ſay ſomething on the occaſion of our aſſembling here: to enable me to do ſo, I have no guide but the commiſſion which I bear for us; depoſitions are returned according to the univerſal practice of Courts of Juſtice in criminal proceedings; probably that has ariſen from the circumſtance of the indictment for high treaſon, being now in the courſe of being prepared by the Officer of the Crown, and not before ſettled. In many caſes, the returns may be very uſeful; becauſe it is as material in treaſon as it is in felony, that the Court ſhould ſee the depoſitions, to enable them the better to point out the grand features of the caſe, to preſent to your conſideration the facts and circumſtances that are moſt eſſential for you to apply your attention to, when you come to conſider the effect and the hearing of the evidence.

" At

" At preſent, however, I know nothing of the circumſtances of the matter that are to be laid before you, except that the offence charged to be enquired into is high treaſon, and therefore, I can only lay down the law upon that ſubject from the beſt authorities, as they are to be found in our books, accompanied with a few obſervations, with a hope, that ſome of them may be of uſe. If they ſhould be applicable to the caſe that ſhall appear before you, they will be applied as they ſhall deſerve to be; and if in the courſe of the proceeding, any queſtion ſhould ariſe in your minds on which you deſire information, you will be pleaſed to apply to us, and the Court will be ready to give you every aſſiſtance in its power.

" Our inquiries, as appears by our commiſſion, are to be confined to high treaſon, and miſpriſion of treaſon. It was the happineſs of this country, for a ſeries of years, to be almoſt ſtrangers to the crime of treaſon, until new principles and opinions were adopted in France, and which have unfortunately miſled the minds of unthinking people, and which were broached by the diſcontented in this country, who have purſued ſome means which tend to the introduction of the ſame kind of anarchy and confuſion which lately prevailed in France. Powerful as theſe opinions have been in France, and extenſive as have been their influence, they cannot make way in the minds and affections of the ſteady and the ſober part of the people of this country; becauſe our conſtitution ſhews us, that men may, with us, live happy, if they pleaſe; and the law ſhews equal protection, from the higheſt to the loweſt, to all the members of our community. In the preſent ſtate of our Conſtitution and Government, we have nothing to fear from power and authority, for the Civil Magiſtrate can act only on the advice of others, and they are reſponſible for their conduct, and they cannot give any advice but ſuch as the law of the realm ſanctions. We have full ſecurity for our freedom, for no law can be enacted which will not render every member of the legiſlature liable to its effect as well as the pooreſt ſubject in the realm; and the law, while it reſtrains vice, is alſo the ſecurity of virtue. There is not, in this country, one rule or meaſure of action for the rich, and another for the poor; both are equally governed by the law; rank, fortune, and authority, have, with us, no power to oppreſs the needy; every crime which one man may commit towards another is prohibited, and the aggreſſion is puniſhed by the law. Every grievance which a man feels, every injury he ſuſtains, is redreſſed and repaired by the law.

" It is in this ſyſtem of human ſociety that true and valuable equality conſiſts. Difference of rank and ſtation is the certain effect of ſuch a ſyſtem; men, by ſuperior talents and ſuperior application, excel their neighbours, and virtue itſelf would be left without one of its happieſt incentives, if the prudent and induſ-

trious

trious were put upon a footing with the diſſipated and idle. It may perhaps ſeem ſtrange to ſome, that a number of men ſhould wiſh to adopt another form of government, but it was the obſervation of a very wiſe man, that "he who goes and tells the people that they are not governed as they ought to be, will never want hearers." The reaſon for it is a very plain one; the ſecrets that belong to a government, the difficulties and perplexities of it are great, and almoſt innumerable; they are alſo, many of them at leaſt, inevitable, and the people at large have not ſufficient judgment to conſider duly of theſe things. Among theſe diſadvantages, that are inſeparable from every ſtate, much miſchief my be done by deſigning men, much miſchief has been done by dwelling on imperfections which are inſeparable from every human ſyſtem, and by imputing all the evils which happen to a ſtate, to the general corruption of its rulers; by which artifice the people are taught, that they ought, for their own ſafety, to take the government into their own hands. They would do well to conſider whether any change of government could ſerve them. They would do well to remember, that government, even if monarchy were no part of it, muſt, from the nature of the thing, ſoon fall into the hands of a few, and the condition of the maſs of the people would not be in the leaſt improved. Under our preſent ſyſtem, we ſee daily that private individuals, by the due and diligent application of their talents, acquire large fortunes, and obtain the higheſt ranks and honours; of the truth of this, the inſtances are numerous in every department. But as no ſtate ever did, nor ever could ſatisfy all deſcriptions of men, we have had, and we ſtill have, thoſe who are diſcontented. One man thinks his merits are neglected, and imputes the fault to the government under which he lives, although, in truth, he may over-rate his value.—Others have brought themſelves to indigence or embarraſſment, by their own imprudence, and conceive that a general change of things will better their condition; ſuch a deſcription of men look to anarchy and confuſion as the chance of their relief. In the due adminiſtration of the law, and the regular courſe of government, they can hope for no advantage. They are in haſte to better their condition; they therefore wiſh for that diſorder in the ſtate, by which they hope, but they vainly hope, to obtain in a day, and on the ſudden, that affluence and honour which is properly the reward only of a virtuous and long life. Such men have exiſted more or leſs numerouſly, at all times, and it has been the policy of the law of England to check and to thwart their views. To guard againſt ſuch turbulent ſpirits, the common law, and alſo the ſtatutes, have made various proviſions. The ancient deſcription of high-treaſon, was, by the law of the land, the errors of the heart in its diſaffection to the government; and the fault was ſhortly ſtated to be in the heart. But our anceſtors ſaid, moſt

wiſely,

wiſely, by a ſubſequent ſtatute, that a man ſhould not be convicted of that crime for intention only; and therefore they directed, that there ſhould be evidence of an overt act to manifeſt that intention, and that it ſhould be charged in the indictment which is to contain the ſpecific overt acts.—This was a wiſe and humane law, for by it the accuſed learns what it is he is to defend. In this exiſts the foundation of our law of treaſon, as it has been underſtood for ages; by it our anceſtors preſerved to their poſterity the ſafety of the realm, and the liberty of the ſubject; under it every man is ſafe who keeps himſelf within the bounds of a defined law.

" On the 25th of Edward the IIId. I preſume it is enough for me to ſay, that it generally provides againſt two or three things—compaſſing the death of the King—adhering to the King's enemies—giving them comfort within the realm, or without it.

" I have alſo now to take notice of two more ſtatutes upon this ſubject, which either may, or may not be applicable to the ſubject which is to come before you. The one was paſſed in the 33d year of the preſent reign, entitled, " An act for the ſafety and preſervation of his Majeſty's perſon and government againſt treaſonable and ſeditious practices and attempts," by which it is enacted, " that if any perſon, &c. ſhall, within the realm or without, compaſs, imagine, invent, deviſe, or intend death or deſtruction, or any bodily harm tending to death or deſtruction, maiming, wounding, impriſonment, or reſtraint of the King's perſon, his heirs and ſucceſſors, or to deprive or depoſe him or them from the ſtile, honour, or kingly name of the Imperial Crown of this realm, or of any other of his Majeſty's dominions or countries; or to levy war againſt his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors within this realm, in order by force or conſtraint to compel him or them to change his or their meaſures or councils, or in order to put any force or conſtraint upon, or to intimidate or overawe both Houſes, or either Houſe of Parliament; or to move or ſtir any foreigner or ſtranger with force to invade this realm, or any other his Majeſty's dominions or countries under the obeiſance of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors; and ſuch compaſſings, imaginations, inventions, deviſes or intentions, which they or any of them ſhall expreſs, utter, or declare, by publiſhing any printing or writing, or by any overt act or deed, being legally convicted thereof upon the oaths of two lawful and credible witneſſes, &c. then every ſuch perſon ſo as aforeſaid offending, ſhall be adjudged a traitor, and ſhall be guilty of high treaſon."

" Beſides any immediate attack on the King's perſon, there are many other acts which have been holden to be proof of conſpiring againſt the King; ſuch as ſending letters, meeting and conſulting about the means to prove to the people that they ought

to

to take the government into their own hands. Any thing that neceſſarily tends to endanger the perſon of the King, is an overt act of high treaſon, and on this ground, conſulting with foreigners on the means to procure an invaſion of the kingdom; going abroad for that purpoſe, or with that intention; the mere hiring or taking a boat to go to the enemy with intent to prevail on them to invade this country; have each of them been ſolemnly determined to be overt acts of high treaſon. They have been ſo determined by the greateſt Judges that ever ſat in Weſtminſter-Hall, and by ſome who are much renowned for their attachment to the liberty of the ſubject, of whom my Lord Holt was one, and who, we all know, bore a very conſiderable part in bringing about the revolution in this country.

" Adhering to the King's enemies, is to be defined and proved by any act which tends to ſtrengthen the enemies of the King, or to weaken his hands. The lending money or intelligence with intent to be conveyed to the enemy, although neither ſuch money nor ſuch intelligence ever arrive into the hands of the enemy, is high treaſon. The reaſon is plain – the party, in ſuch caſe, has done all he could: his evil intentions are manifeſted by his actions, and the treaſon is perfect, although the miſchief never took effect. Another point to be obſerved is, that in treaſon there are no acceſſaries; all are principals. The act of one perſon, in purſuance of the orders of another, provided the deſign be treaſonable, is the act of all who are concerned in the intention; all, in ſuch caſe, are equally guilty.

" Indictments for high treaſon generally run into conſiderable length, becauſe, after ſtating the neceſſary forms of law, they ſtate all the facts which are intended to be eſtabliſhed by evidence as proof of the general intention. Theſe facts are called in law "overt acts;" but although many ſuch acts are charged in the indictment, and are not proved, yet if one of them, being material, be ſatisfactorily proved, that is ſufficient to ſupport the indictment.

" The ſtatute of the 33d year of the preſent reign is next to be taken notice of. It is " an act for more effectually preventing traitorous correſpondence, or aid or aſſiſtance being given to his Majeſty's enemies during the preſent war with France." By it is enacted, " That, during the war, if any perſon reſiding or being in Great Britain, ſhall, knowingly and wilfully, on his own account or credit, or on the account or credit, or by direction of any other perſon or perſons whomſoever, or whereſoever reſident, buy, ſell, ſupply or deliver, or ſend for the purpoſe of being ſold, ſupplied or delivered, or ſhall knowingly or wilfully, either on his own account, or on the account or credit, or by the direction of any other perſon, whomſoever or whereſoever reſident or being, cauſe or procure it to be ſold, ſupplied or delivered; or ſent for the purpoſe of being ſold, ſupplied or delivered;

vered; or authoriſe or direct any other perſon or perſons, whomſoever or whereſoever reſident or being, to ſend, ſupply, or deliver, or to ſend for the purpoſe of being ſold, ſupplied or delivered; or ſhall knowingly and wilfully aid and aſſiſt in ſo ſelling, ſupplying, or in authorizing to ſell, ſupply, &c. or to ſend for the purpoſe of being ſold, ſupplied, &c. to or for the uſe of the perſons now exerciſing the power of government in France, or who may exerciſe the power of government in France during the preſent war, or for the uſe of any armies, troops, &c. poſſeſſed by ſuch perſons, &c. or of any perſon reſiding in France during ſuch war, &c. or to any town, territory, port or place, annexed to France, &c. or, knowingly and wilfully, buy or procure, or aid and aſſiſt in buying and procuring any arms, ordnance, &c. or any article of food, fodder for cattle, &c. or ſhall ſend any note of the bank of England, bill, or any gold and ſilver coin, &c. of this kingdom, or of any other country; or any other article of clothing &c. without the licenſe of his Majeſty, under his ſign manual, or order in council, or proclamation; ſuch perſon ſo ſending, &c. ſhall be declared a traitor, and ſhall ſuffer death as in caſe of high treaſon."

"Such is the ſubſtance of theſe modern acts: Whether they be mere affirmants of the common law, or whether they ſtate ſuch acts to be treaſon as were not ſuch before theſe ſtatutes, is not a point neceſſary to be now diſcuſſed. The principle of the bills is only following up that which has been often held to be treaſon; and as there might have been ſome doubts entertained by ſome, the legiſlature acted wiſely in making the law plain and clear to the meaneſt capacity.

"Gentlemen, I am not aware that there is any commitment for miſ-priſion of treaſon to come before you; and therefore I have not detained you with any obſervations upon that ſubject.—If theſe few obſervations ſhall afford to you any information or relief in the diſcharge of your duty, in the courſe of your inquiry, the end and object of them will be fully anſwered. If they do not, I hope you will think I have not occupied any inordinate portion of your time."

FINIS.

4

A

LETTER

ADDRESSED TO THE GENTLEMEN OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND,

ON THE

INEXPEDIENCY

OF A

FEDERAL-UNION

BETWEEN THE

TWO KINGDOMS,

BY SIR JOHN J. W. JERVIS, BART.

Omne in Præcipiti vitium ſtetit : JUV.

All Crimes are at the Height!!

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY JOHN WHITWORTH, 14, EXCHANGE STREET.

1798.

GENTLEMEN,

THE preſent is a moſt momentous Æra of the World.---It muſt conſtitute a Period in the Annals of Time unequalled in antient or modern Hiſtory---almoſt every Spot of the known Globe ſtands involved in Scenes of mutilating Confuſion, ſevering human Confidence by Violence and Fraud, from the well-tried and eſtabliſhed Syſtems of orderly Government; and ſubſtituting in their Room, the moſt frantic Viſions of future Happineſs and independent Equality, founded upon the moſt innovating Power of certain

coerſive new-fangled Jurisdictions, whoſe Judgments, as far as known to us, appear ſubverſive of all regulated Order, and whoſe Authority, being conſtituted and eſtabliſhed upon the horrid Baſis of Plunder and Murder, reſiſtleſsly pervades through thoſe ill-fated and unhappy Countries, who have ſubmitted or ſubjected themſelves to the Iron Yoke, with mercileſs and unceaſing Fury, in the Extinction of all Religion, and the Waſte and utter Deſtruction of all Property.

In this State of Things, whilſt all are apprehenſive of the evil Conſequences for a Time, at leaſt, that are likely to enſue; yet there may be Room to hope that human Nature, being reſtored to Reaſon, we may be permitted to attend to the more minute Matters in Society. Under this Hope,

Hope, I wiſh to draw your Attention to a Subject of leſs extenſive Importance than that in which the civilized World is engaged, although nearly as portentous as any that ever attracted your Conſideration; becauſe it is one that calls for your moſt ſerious Deliberation.

The projected Union is the Subject I allude to:---May I call it a Phœnomenon, unexpected and of hideous Aſpect.---In its Nature ſo deſtructive, that I would wiſh, fondly to believe, even the preſent Times, ſo creative of Novelty and Reproach, could not form or bring forth a more frightful Monſter. It is therefore ſeriouſly to be hoped, that the Report, though in general Circulation, is no other than the reſtleſs Yearnings of a certain Tribe of miſchievous Speculatiſts, who range methodically

dically from Kingdom to Kingdom, for the ſpecial Purpoſe of deſtroying Confidence, and deranging Society: And although I believe there can be no Ground for ſuch circulated Report, yet, I deem it a Duty to ſubmit my Ideas of the Meaſure (if it is in real Contemplation) to your Judgment. Are we not ſufficiently united? Are not the Intereſts of both Kingdoms one and the ſame, and depending on mutual Exertion?—The Report, therefore, cannot but be invented and promulged, for iniquitous Purpoſes as already mentioned; for it would be abſurd to imagine, that a Miniſter who has ſhown forth ſo conſpicuous for Ability and unwearied Perſeverance in an unexampled Struggle for the Honour and Happineſs of the Britiſh Empire, againſt the deſtructive Principles inculcated by an indefatigable and inve-

terate

terate Foe, could for one Moment, meditate upon ſo pernicious a Meaſure, pregnant as it muſt be, with every Miſchief to the Realms of England and Ireland!

You will be pleaſed to obſerve, that ſuppoſing the Projection to be founded, it is poſſible the Event would be really productive of far greater Miſchiefs to the already almoſt ruined Country of Ireland, than in any Poſition it could become to the nervous Syſtem long ſince eſtabliſhed in England; becauſe, in the firſt Place, England having an unrivalled Trade and Plantation Connection, has it within her preſent Will and Power, to reſtrain and counter-reſtrain the ſtrenuous Efforts of any Rival-Nation, not connected with the Meaſures of her Finance or Government. Next As to her Situation and Influence,

ence, She is ſo far ſuperior in Strength to her ill-fated Neighbour and neareſt Relative, that, although ſhe is bound down by every Tie of Blood and Affinity that can, or ever did ſubſiſt within diſtinct Kingdoms, ſtill in Controverſion and Avoidance of obligatory Acts, does ſhe manifeſtly ſeek through her legiſlative Proviſions, anxiouſly to claim a predominant Controul over the ſlender Opportunities which, ſhe has afforded with ſcanty Hand and needy Diſtribution to a grateful and affectionate Siſter!

Why then ſhall any ill-adviſed Meaſure be now judged expedient or neceſſary to float itſelf upon the public Mind, and to create Alarm and Doubt to the brave, the generous and the good, who have proved themſelves ever ready to devote their Lives and Fortunes

Fortunes in aid and Suſtentation of the Proweſs of a Country already too much enriched through a Suction of Wealth from Pole to Pole!

My laſt Queſtion induces me further to ſtate to your Conſideration, that England, in point of her political Conſtitution, being rendered perfect, or preſuming herſelf to be ſo, would in all poſſibility endure this innovating encroachment upon her ſubſiſting repreſentation, and Eſtabliſhment, with Apathy and Diſmay, and of Conſequence would not well endure or ſubmit to an Intention, not only contrary to, but finally ſubverſive of her legiſlative Dignity: for preſently I ſhall prove, that a well balanced Conſtitution, ſuch as ſhe now enjoys, unequalled by any other, muſt feel the Shock that would be occaſioned through an Introduction

duction of new Viſages, whoſe palms being in uſage in the Realm of Ireland, might prowl about as Men in the dark, until diſcovered by the Miniſter's Wand of Surprize, whoſe metalic touch reſtores the blind to ſight, as well as to other rapturous Feelings!

It is not ſufficient to aſſert Facts, let us, from an extenſive view of what has happened, and is likely to happen, ſeek to form a Judgment upon the future.

Upon a late lamented Event, namely, the temporary Rebellion in Ireland, the Kingdom of England did nobly come forward, in Mind and Action, to the aid and relief of their ſuffering brethren in Ireland.---Many of the Corps of that Militia, with peculiar and dignified Generoſity, *Volunteered* their Services

vices to quell a Rebellion, the nature and inducement to which I ſhall not now treſpaſs upon you, in detail.---I am alſo perſuaded that ſuppoſing a like direful Event ſhould happen in England, (which may Almighty God in his bountiful Mercy prevent,) the honeſt Yeomanry of Ireland would, with undaunted Courage, unanimouſly ſolicit the favor of Permiſſion, to ruſh forward to the diſmay and defeat, of any foreign or domeſtic Enemies in Great Britain.---I am then upon thoſe true grounds, well warranted to pronounce, that, ſuch a national reciprocity in Arms, and federal Action, conſtitutes the moſt beneficial Union, in fact and effect, between the ſiſter Countries.

It might be ſtrongly urged, as fully ſufficient to Authorize ſuſpicion, of the ſuppoſed Projection, being in real agita-

tion, that it has not been yet diſavowed, by any Perſon empowered to diſavow it. Therefore the public Alarm is hourly increaſing in violent Preſumption; whilſt the feelings of every Man, who yet remains in Poſſeſſion of a fixed Property in the Country, are becoming more convulſed through apprehenſion and real fear, that the preponderating tokens of Vengeance, hanging o'er his Head, will be realized, through a deciſion againſt him, as endleſs in its duration, as the Exiſtence of the Divinity, whom he awfully adores!

I muſt alſo obſerve, that it becomes incumbent and a Duty abſolutely neceſſary upon thoſe in Power, if they are verily acquainted with ſuch Projection, to diſcloſe and make known to you, who are the moſt intereſted Parties, what the *Prologue* of

of ſo novel a Propoſition entertains---What are the Preliminaries---What are the conſolidating Truths----what are the wonderful Inducements---who are to have and retain the immediate Benefits to reſult from the iniquitous Barter---who are the momentous Nobility that offer to ſupport it---who are the Honourable Commoners who wiſh to exchange adverſe Situations for temporary Quietude---what are to become of public and private Creditors---how is the capital City of Dublin to be preſerved in her habitual Rights---and finally, how are the inherent Rights of a great Nation, to be preſerved and handed down to Poſterity, undiminiſhed and inviolate, as we received them from the Hands of our Anceſtors?

Theſe Inquiries naturally lead us to think it expedient, in order to form a juſt

juſt Opinion upon this momentous Subject, that we ſhould be firſt acquainted with the exact Nature of the Meaſure in ſuppoſed Contemplation---In ſhort, with the *preciſe* Articles of Stipulation to be finally adjuſted between the two Countries, as the Baſis of an Union; and from our becoming in that Manner acquainted with the Minutiæ of the Meaſure, to form our Opinions and Concluſions for or againſt a Propoſition of that Magnitude, which muſt conſequentially involve the Happineſs or Miſery of future Generations!---But, I do ſay, that although our becoming acquainted with thoſe ſeveral Data, may ſeem abſolutely neceſſary, yet it is to be apprehended, that let whatever Stipulation be adjuſted in ſeeming Favour to Ireland, ſtill it would be eaſy, at any future Period, for a perverſe Miniſter to violate the Contract as to

the

the weaker Country, in order to accompliſh ſome wicked Meaſure, formed in Deſtruction of the Liberties or Revenues of both, or either Countries. Thus all the mighty Soundings of future Grandure and Freedom of Trade thrilling through our Ears, would vaniſh in Air; and therefore, ſuch, or any Stipulation, be it ever ſo alluring, muſt be viewed by you as a deluſive Fiction.

I do further ſay, if any ſuch Scheme ſhall be propoſed, that it may be ſafely laid down as a Fact not to be controverted, that the main object will appear to be, the abſolute *Annihilation* of the Iriſh Legiſlature, thereby to enable an Engliſh Majority, acting under the Dictum of any corrupt Miniſter, to overwhelm the Revenues of this fated Nation, in an irredeemable funded

funded Debt, notwithſtanding ſhe is already ſinking under a like Species of Incumbrance, brought upon her within the ſhort Period of ten Years. The Meaſure of a Union, be it propoſed when it may, cannot ever originate amongſt, or come forward from, the real Friends of Ireland---It muſt derive its Strength in the Councils of a Britiſh Cabinet. As that grand Object ~~cannot be obtained otherwiſe than through~~ an unbounded Influence over Ireland, it muſt manifeſtly appear to the weakeſt Underſtanding, that, the *utter Extinguiſhment of her parliamentary Juriſdiction*, will be the principal Aim and Object of Stipulation; and in this Acquiſition would all other ſubordinate Conſiderations inſtantly merge. Here would end Ireland's Security, and with it her Conſequence!

Having

Having ſaid thus much upon a Subject, which I ſtill flatter myſelf will never be agitated, even by the moſt hardy; it may not, be either improper or improvident, (leaſt it ſhould make its Appearance,) to proceed in our Examination of ſo important a Queſtion; and in order that we may come as cloſe as Preſumption will permit, let us, for one Moment, turn our Eyes to a Precedent, likely to be copied as the Ground-work of a ſimilar Superſtructure:----I mean the *Scotch Union*.---Upon this Occaſion, a few Repreſentatives of that Nation, were transferred to the Britiſh Senate;--- and thus ſhe loſt her Legiſlature!!!

In that Reſpect, the Union with Scotland would be literally followed, and a Portion of the quondam Repreſentatives of Ireland (as they might then

be called) be *wafted* over to England, thus at once to repoſe in the Hands of Engliſhmen, equally ignorant and regardleſs of Ireland's Wants and Situation, an unlimited Power over her landed and monied Property:---This therefore, being the firſt great Article that the Propoſers of an Union would have in Contemplation, on it we may reſt all the principal Miſchiefs that ſuch a grievous Circumſtance as the Deſtruction of the Parliament of Ireland would be replete with to both Countries.---Who will tell me, that by the Death of the Parliament of Ireland, her Houſe of Lords and her Commons-Houſe, ſhe would not loſe two of her Eſtates out of three? Two of the integral Parts of her dearly valuable, and wonderfully nice Conſtitution?---Her *Engliſh Conſtitution-----the Work of Ages!*-----

Her

Her *Legiſlature*, one Part of which holds the Balance between the Crown and the People, and maintains diſtributive Juſtice between Man and Man, as judges in the laſt Reſort, whilſt the other, through its vigilant Care, protects the Purſe of the Nation from the Attacks of every venal Miniſter. Deſtroy thoſe two Branches of her Conſtitution, and the beautiful Fabric is in Ruins!!

This Circumſtance, above all others, ariſing from this hated Meaſure, when duly conſidered, muſt particularly arreſt your Attention; for to preſerve this *great Barrier* of Society, the brave Yeomen of that Country did come forward with the laſt drop of their Blood, alike protecting every Branch of her conſtitution, as being all equally valuable and indiſpenſable---*Her King*---

Her Lords---and her Commons----and mindful of their own perſonal Danger laſt of all!---Are they then to have this Barrier wreſted from them, after having vanquiſhed that deſperate Party, who with *Lethal-intentions* to a matchleſs Conſtitution, dared to attack this *her Barrier*, for the Purpoſe of overwhelming, in one common Deſtruction---*Her King---Her Lords---and her Commons!*---No Gentlemen, it cannot be; they have proved themſelves too deſerving of its Protection.

Much however, as this Deſpoliation would ruin the Conſtitution of Ireland, it would add nothing to the Proſperity of England; nor would the Gentlemen of the latter Country, (as living under a ſimilar Conſtitution to that which Ireland boaſts to enjoy,) wiſh to ſee a People ſo cloſely connected

nected with them, as they are in every Reſpect, deprived of that Barrier of Life and Property by which themſelves are protected!----Yet a UNION could not be without this Infringement!

Now behold the ſad Train of Conſequences, ſuch a melancholy Circumſtance would drag along with it. All who have their underſtanding, muſt perceive, at once, that when the few Repreſentatives of Ireland, would be *tranſported* to England, they would, either *naturally* or *artificially*, as being the *Minority*, fall into the *Majority*.---It certainly would be in vain for them to attempt offering any Argument or reaſoning againſt the *will*, or, as it might be called, the *fixed Opinion* of Britiſh Weight!---They could have no Influence againſt ſuch a *Majority*,

as

as would at all Times be brought forward, and would ever prevail in Matters of Opinion, as well as Intereſt.---A Majority that would ever be for leaning hard upon *degraded Ireland*; for it is clear, that if any thing could induce thoſe in Power at the Engliſh ſide of the Water, to wiſh for the irrevocable Meaſure of a UNION, of Legiſlatures, between the two Countries, it could only be with the Proſpect of unjuſtly obtaining Supplies, by draining Ireland, without having to call upon England.---Would it not be in the Power of a baneful Majority, headed by a ſcheming Miniſter, at any Time to demand a ſubſidy from Ireland, at the point of the Bayonet; when neither the ſcheme would be approved of, nor Supplies to be obtained from England?---It would be impoſſible upon ſuch an Occaſion, for the

the few Repreſentatives of Ireland, (even though they were diſpoſed to act as one Man, in Support of the Rights of their Country,) to reſiſt a Torrent that would carry every thing before it; notwithſtanding a part of ſuch Majority might even be compoſed of Men who ſhould be ſo ſhort ſighted, not to ſee it would be againſt the future Intereſt of England, to monopolize the poor earnings of Iriſh Induſtry, for the temporary Object of ſaving the Britiſh Purſe.---Nor will it admit of a Queſtion, that the ſole view of the propoſers of ſuch a *provincializing* ſyſtem, would be to facilitate a road to Iriſh Spoil, and thus to acquire a momentary Conſequence, by ſqueezing the Vitals of that Country.---And here we may add, that let what would be the Object of ſuch a *ſtripping Power*, and though it would be inconſiſtent with ſound Policy,

by

by *cruſhing Ireland* in this Manner, even the Britiſh Empire would ſeverely feel the Shock.---To tax Ireland would become *the Order of the Day*---that abominable Soil---that Country which the Engliſh have always been taught to look at with diſtaſte, would not then be ſpared; nor is the Idea an unnatural one, that Mankind being ever prone to ſhift the Burden off their own, upon their Neighbours Shoulders, Ireland though the weaker, would be made the *pack-mule* on every Occaſion.---Thus Ireland becoming deprived of her power of Controul over her Finances, nothing would remain to her of an admired Conſtitution, ſave the *Executive* Branch; in as much as the other Scale, together with the Hand that poiſes the Balance, being cut off, her envied and Glorious Bulwark of civil Society would crumble away, and vaniſh for ever!

Thus

Thus Gentlemen, would the Government of *both Kingdoms* become completely abſolute, if it was not to be dependent on the *Liberality* of the People; for we may ſay with De Lolme * It is ſtill from the Commons of England poſſeſſing this *powerful Weapon*, that the Monarchy is limitted; but if the Government had this uncurbed Power of obtaining Subſidies from Ireland, either by direct or indirect Force, the boaſted Check would be for ever loſt to both Nations, for Government would not have to call upon the *Liberality* of the People of England:---This would be the Loſs of a Power which the ſame Author importantly deſcribes, where he thus expreſſes himſelf---" The Right " to grant Subſidies to the Crown,

(* Ch. 6. p. 74, 75.)

" poſſeſſed by the People of Eng-
" land, is the Safe-guard of all their
" Liberties, religious and civil: It is
" a regular Means conferred on them
" by the Conſtitution, of influencing
" the Motion of the Executive Power,
" and it forms the Tie by which the
" latter is bound to them." *—But a UNION, by enabling the Miniſter to form any Majority he pleaſed, or by enabling him to exact Subſidies from Ireland, would enable the Crown to render itſelf independent on the Engliſh Commons, in regard to its Supplies, by forming in this Way a Diviſion, which would be the likelieſt Mode in the World of ſtripping the Engliſh of this valuable Gem of their Independence, or Appendage of their Conſequence, and is held forth by De Lolme in the following Words:

(* Ch. 20. p. 513.)

(In

(in ſpeaking of the Danger of the People of England loſing this Privilege by a Diviſion of this Right,) "Another Diviſion of the Right of "the People, much more likely to "take place than thoſe juſt mentioned, "might be ſuch as might ariſe from "Acquiſitions of foreign Dominions, "the Inhabitants of which ſhould, in "Time, claim and obtain a Right to "treat directly with the Crown, and "grant Supplies to it without the In-"terference of the Britiſh Legiſla-"ture." *

I have already ſtated that the *nominated Repreſentatives* of Ireland would be unable to ſtem the Torrent of Britiſh ~~Members~~, although they might weigh be inclined to do ſo as one Man:---I ſhall go farther, and ſay, that it is

(* Ch. 20. p. 522.)

moſt certain that thoſe very Men, from the novel Situation they would find themſelves plunged in, would become ready and willing to betray and neglect the Truſt repoſed in them by their Conſtituents; their neceſſarily *long Abſence* from Ireland, would lead the Way to their forming new Alliances and new Intereſts; this, while it would render their new Reſidence attracting, would tend to efface from their Memories and Eſtimation, the true Intereſts of that Country they might ſuppoſitiouſly be preſumed to repreſent !---Thus would they ſoon come to be unmindful of the Charge repoſed in their Hands, notwithſtanding that a vigilant Diſcharge of their Duty in that Behalf, could be the only Return in their Power to make to their Country for confiding ſo important a Truſt to their Care:---But as they would have

their

their Seats ſecured for Life, which would completely anſwer every Purpoſe for them,—Indeed, as they could have no *real* Influence in the Britiſh Houſe, it would be ridiculous for their Conſtituents to trouble themſelves concerning them, for whatever Laws, urged by *Whim or Intereſt*, Britiſh Legiſlation choſe to frame, could not be demurred to. Hence even the Sentiments of the moſt loyal could have no Weight, either through the Repreſentative or with him, for the Power of Election as well as all Check over the *nominated Member*, being pulled from the Hands of the Conſtituent, but which has often-times proved to be beneficial, would be no more, and with it would go *the Wealth and Happineſs* of the loyal People of Ireland—nor could that Applauſe which has ever followed a faithful Diſcharge of

Duty,

Duty, as it then would be either unheard or unnoticed, be any longer a Mode of rewarding Members for good Conduct, as a powerful Incentive to induce the Repreſentatives to adhere to the Intereſts of the Kingdom, in Preference to Self-aggrandizement.—Thus, it is evident, there would be no Room to hope, while there would be much Reaſon to fear, that the Repreſentative would readily come to overlook, and be regardleſs of his Country's Welfare; nor is this all, for it would naturally make the Way eaſy to ſtill worſe Conduct---to ſtudied Acts, diametrically oppoſite to their Country's Good---and thus would they readily fall into the crafty Deſigns of a prodigal or profligate Miniſter, (for however I may admire the Engliſh Conſtitution, I cannot preſume that it is to make all Men equally

equally juſt and wiſe,) that might unfortunately come to be at the Head of Affairs.---They would, in ſhort, become Inſtruments within the Reach of ſuch a Man, to aſſiſt in any dirty Work to be ſerved up as a *ſtanding Diſh* on all Occaſions, to the very great Diſcomfiture and Annoyance of the honeſt Engliſh Members, contrary to the Spirit of the Conſtitution of England, and the juſt Diſtribution of all its Parts, and thus no leſs injurious to the Privileges of Engliſhmen, than thoſe of Ireland.

But to take one more View of Scotland and her UNION, of which much has been attempted to be ſaid, by Way, I ſuppoſe, of anologiſtical Argument, although ſhe was differently ſituated both in Point of Territory and other adventitious Circumſtances, let

let us however dwell for a little on that fancied Model.

When we conſider what was the real ſtate of that Country, at, and long before her UNION with England, we muſt ſay there can be no Compariſon, nor ſhould ſhe be brought as a precedent now---She could not have been deemed an independant Country as Ireland, and indeed nature ſeemed to intend ſhe ſhould not.---Yet as to her Situation at this moment, what muſt be ſaid?---Why, that of two Evils, though ſhe may have choſen the leaſt, territorially ſituated as ſhe is, She has no weight, nor could ſhe carry any one point in the Legiſlative Aſſembly of England, even though her Salvation was at Stake!---We muſt therefore admit, that nothing can compenſate for the Degradation ſhe has ſuffered by her

her Union with, and Surrender of all her legiſlative Rights to that Country, ſave the *Peace* and *Quiet* ſhe has ſo *dearly* purchaſed!

Circumſtanced as Scotland was territorially, with a powerful Neighbour, whoſe Armies having only to ſtep acroſs the Tweed, that Country could never deem herſelf ſecure from Attack, had ſhe not come under due Subordination by a Union, and with it, a Relinquiſhment of all her important Rights; ſince which Period, although Edinburgh has extended its Limits beyond the Pale of a *confined Hill*, upon whoſe Summit ſtood her ſtrong Fort and Watch-Tower, around which her crowded Inhabitants thought themſelves ſafer than in the ſurrounding Plane.---Yet nothing can, to my Underſtanding, vindicate thoſe (now

no more) who ſuggeſted and aided the Scheme, ſave the putting a Stop to the perpetual Attacks that were to be daily dreaded from her *Southern* Neighbours, thereby ſecuring at leaſt, the peace and ſafety of her People.—The Advantages to be derived from peace and quiet, were no doubt deemed, (without having recourſe to bribes,) far preferable to that State of predatory Warfare, that to this Day, Scotland might have been ſubject to, had no ſuch Incorporation taken place.

This UNION therefore had a happy Effect, in *conciliating* the two jarring Kingdoms, and although the *one* loſt her Legiſlature, yet from the Territorial Contiguity of *both*, there is no great Danger of the Parliament of England dealing unfairly with Scotland, for the Paſſage of the Tweed, is as free to the

the *now* Northern, as to the Southern Britons.---To keep Ireland down would however always be deemed neceſſary, to make her yield to the frequent Burdens with which ſhe would be loaded, not being ſo eaſy of acceſs as Scotland; nor would there be any thing to fear from her croſſing the Iriſh Channel. Permit me now to obſerve, that I have merely alluded to the *Scotch Union*, to ſhew that her Legiſlature, was upon that Occaſion, merged in the Vortex of Engliſh Power, and not to draw any inference therefrom, as, with Submiſſion, I conceive the ſame to be irrelevant to the preſent Queſtion---but to return to Ireland.

Ireland is a Kingdom of no trifling extent, and prior to the late Rebellion, was advancing with rapid Strides towards Improvement, notwithſtanding

the many Checks ſhe had from time to time received, from the Jealouſy of her Siſter Kingdom, both in Manufacture and Commerce; and thus while ſhe has been of immenſe Service to the latter, by the unlimited Importation, and Conſumption of her various Productions, without having ever experienced any thing like Reciprocity.---What therefore, muſt ſhe not expect to be ſaddled with, were ſhe at the *ſole Mercy* of her Elder Siſter?

Ireland divided as ſhe is from England, can be ſubject to no *inroads* from her Eaſtern Neighbours.---They have by friendly Viſits, troubled her very little *indeed*---and conſequently know nothing either of her State, or of her Wants.---Happy is it for her, and I truſt for your Sake, and of the Britiſh Empire, that ſhe has her own diſtinct

Parliament,

Parliament, and a Parliament too, that has from time to time, framed for her moſt wholeſome Laws.---In ſhort ſhe cannot find it expedient or neceſſary to ſurrender that Bulwark, of every thing that is great or good, for to purchaſe ſecurity from hoſtile Inroads!

When Rebellion did raiſe its Hydra Head, againſt the beſt of Monarchs, and an envied Conſtitution, (envied becauſe the nefarious find it a ſhield againſt conſtructed Devaſtation and Murder,) her gallant Sons, the Proprietors of her Soil and Wealth, with determined Loyalty, and undaunted Courage, came forward and cruſhed it.---They proffered their Blood, and their Treaſure---for what? For the Protection of their King, their Country, and their Laws.---And are they now, as a

Reward

Reward for their Courage, and their Loyalty, to have thoſe Laws ſurreptitiouſly taken from them.

Thus did Ireland from her Activity and Spirit, call forth a Force, which without having recourſe to foreign Aid, was ſufficient to curb the many headed Traitor.—Nor had ſhe been backward within the Walls of Parliament in voting, and without its Doors, in ſubſcribing pecuniary Aid, during this unparalleled War of Aggreſſion, on the part of a frantic Foe, for the purpoſe of repelling his ſeveral Attacks.

After this Digreſſion, allow me once more to turn your Attention to the main point in Queſtion, and aſk whether the Annihilation of the Iriſh Parliament, as already deſcribed, would not be a ſufficient proof of the *ruinous* tendency of a UNION between the two Coun-

tries,

tries, without which it could not be.—Here lies the Bane of the Meaſure; for with whatever glare of colouring, the Propoſition may be blazoned, ſtill, "*Latet anguis ſub Herba*," and any bargain that might be made, as to a right of Repreſentation, be conſidered as a *mere Deluſion.*

Permit me, Gentlemen, to go ſtill farther, and ſay, it would be better for Ireland, could ſhe make ſuch ſurrender of her Privileges, to pretend to no right of Repreſentation whatever, as, in that Caſe no *vain* Expectations could induce honeſt Men to venture their Capitals, in uncertain undertakings; and thoſe who might otherwiſe be the *quondam Repreſentatives*, with their followers, would ſtay at home, and by their Money and their Preſence, encourage the Cultivation of her Lands; for, under the ſpecious

ſpecious Appearance of Repreſentation, ſhe would have none in fact. If the Kingdom could be viewed, on that Occaſion, even as Scotland, or be as certain of Security as Yorkſhire, then we might conſider the paucity of Repreſentatives, a Matter of no great moment; but as a UNION can be deſired for no other Purpoſe, than to put the Miniſter above the *Liberality* even of the *Engliſh Commons*, a ſtrong Party in that Houſe, independant of the Iriſh Members, inclined to ſhield Ireland, would be the only means of Security.---This however is not to be expected, for as it is to obtain a *Party* independant of the Engliſh Members, that, the Acquiſition of Iriſh Force is ſought for, ſo they would with ſome others become the very Perſons paramount to the faithful Commons of England, as alluded to in the following

Words

Words by De Lolme—"If any other "Perſons beſide the Repreſentatives of "the People, had a right to make an "offer of the Produce of the Labour of "the People, the Executive Power "would ſoon have forgot that it only "exiſts for the Advantage of the Pub-"lic."*

While thus it is manifeſt, that both Countries muſt be led to the brink of *Ruin*, by ſuch a Debaſement of *public Rights*, it cannot but appear alſo that both would ſuffer extremely by the *private Rights* of the People of Ireland, now fully protected by her Houſe of Lords, as *Judges* in *the laſt reſort*, coming to be finally decided upon by the Engliſh Houſe of Peers, whither her appellant Juriſdiction, along with a few of the Members of her Supreme

* Chap. 8. p. 85.

Judicature, would be moved to.---I particularly allude to the Right of Property.

This Inconvenience would give a ſevere blow, indeed, to her Hopes of further Improvement.---No Man could be ſure of a fair Inveſtigation of his juſt Claims. Hence I may aſk would not this materially check her Progreſs in Commerce and Manufactures, if not, totally deſtroy all Attempt that way?--- Would not this be a neceſſary Conſequence from the belief that private Property was no longer ſecure?

In this way one of the principal *private* Rights of Individuals being *Property*, would come to be in a very precarious State truly, independant of the Attacks on it in the way of Taxation. If England has flouriſhed from the very Reverſe,

Reverſe, each Individual being ſenſible of his excluſive Right to enjoy the various Fruits of his Induſtry, why ſhould Ireland proſper without this Security? *Quod Rectum, rectum eſt*—may be the Anſwer of ſome, but in order that any ſhould impreſs you, Gentlemen, with the Idea that a great Miſchief would not follow ſuch an Innovation in the Upper Houſe, *the Judges of Ireland in the laſt reſort!*—let them in denying my Poſition prove their premiſes. But I ſay, by this would be loſt the Check, which the Individual now has a Power of bringing againſt the corrupt Deciſions of any future Judges, who may come to preſide in our inferior Courts; for while the Remedy would come to appear uncertain, the Search after it would be worſe than the Diſeaſe.—The *Levity* of Judges, when convinced

that there was no effectual Mode of doing away their light Deciſions, might very likely become frequent; for, although Man, when properly curbed, becomes a very rational, honeſt and harmleſs Animal, yet if not chained down to ſome Rule of right Reaſon, may be expected to become quite the reverſe: and though the Judges of the Land are, under the preſent Conſtitution, a very upright Body of Men, and *deliberate* in Deciſion; yet it is to be feared, that when the Reſtraint was removed, a Departure from ſuch neceſſary and Praiſe-worthy Conduct might in Time creep forward into Uſage, to the irreparable Injury of thoſe ſeeking an impartial Diſtribution of Juſtice; nor has this Dereliction of Juſtice been unfrequent in the World.

De Lolme,

De Lolme, in ſpeaking of the Judges of antient Rome, adds thus—" Nor " were the Roman Magiſtrates ſatis- " fied with committing Acts of In- " juſtice in their political Capacity, " and for the Support of that Body " of which they made a Part: Ava- " rice and private Rapine were at " laſt added to political Ambition."*

On a Deprivation of the Iriſh Judges Right to ſit in Parliament, there may be Room to preſume, that the Loſs of the political Influence which they now bear, muſt be compenſated for, in ſome other Reſpect.—It has been deemed, that the Increaſe of their Salaries, and the Tenure under their Patents being enlarged to a Term for Life, have con-

* Chap. 16. p. 350.

ſtituted

ſtituted a ſufficient Security for their ſtrictly attending to a due Adminiſtration of Juſtice; but as the Proviſion ſhould be to guard againſt the worſt poſſible Caſe that might occur, every Care ſhould be taken to prevent future Miſchiefs. The Iriſh Houſe of Peers having recovered its Appellant Jurisdiction, uninfluenced by any other Body, whilſt it is deeply intereſted in the Property of the Kingdom, and being the *ſupreme Court* of Judicature, provides this Remedy; But *è contra*, if a few of the Members of that Houſe became immerged within the Controul of a more numerous Body not ſo much intereſted in the Property of Ireland, and therefrom liable to be led aſtray in their Deciſions—where then would be the Remedy?

Here

Here I would ſubjoin one Remark.—That, although the Example of Scotland has been ſo much relied on, it cannot, in this Place, be pawned upon you;—For the Laws of Scotland differ ſo much from thoſe of England, that the Judges of the latter, much leſs the Peers, can pretend to no Controul over the Peers of the former; and, therefore, the Peers of Scotland become the *real* Judges on *Appeal*. But the ſame Obſervation cannot hold as to Ireland, for the Engliſh Peers would, from the Similarity of Engliſh and Iriſh Laws, be always deemed competent Judges to decide on Queſtions touching *private* Property in Ireland, and therefore the Peers from Ireland become, at leaſt, indirect Countenancers of *Injuſtice*.

In this Manner the *Aſſurances* of the Realm would become uſeleſs, and the Effects form a Parallel to the Treſpaſſes deſcribed by De Lolme as touching Roman Judges at a certain Period, in the following Words:—"The "Laws and public Judgments not only "thus failed of the End for which "they had been eſtabliſhed: They "even became, at length, new Means "of Oppreſſion added to thoſe which "already exiſted. Citizens poſſeſſed "of Wealth, Perſons obnoxious to par-"ticular Bodies, or the few Magiſ-"trates who attempted to ſtem the "Torrent of the general Corruption, "were accuſed and condemned:" *—In this Way the Properties of Individuals might come to be at the Mercy of *Avarice* or *Caprice*, and well-

* Chap. 16. p. 353.

framed

framed Laws be rendered of no avail.---Here, I am convinced, you will exclaim after the Manner of the ancient Engliſh Barons---" *Nolumus le-*
" *ges Hiberniæ mutari!*"

As the upper Houſe of Parliament in that Country now ſtands, we may ſtill dwell on De Lolme, and ſay with him---" In the Exerciſe of their ju-
" dicial Authority, with regard to ci-
" vil Matters, the Lords have mani-
" feſted a Spirit of Equity, no wiſe
" inferior to that which they have
" ſhewn in their legiſlative Capacity.
" They have in Diſcharge of that
" Function (which of all others is ſo
" liable to create Temptation) ſhewn
" an Uncorruptneſs really ſuperior to
" what any *judicial* Aſſembly in any
" other Nation can boaſt, nor do I
" think that I run any Riſk of be-

"ing contradicted, when I ſay that "the Conduct of the Houſe of Lords "in their civil judicial Capacity, has "conſtantly been ſuch as has kept "them above the Reach of even Suſ-"picion or Slander." *

But on a Surrender of her Peers, Ireland could not make this Boaſt, for it is next to a certainty that no Cauſe would be fairly decided; beſide the Expenſe would render the Reference to the ſupreme Juriſdiction in England, (by which to obtain final Juſtice, if thus it could be arrived at) a thing almoſt unattainable.----Thus this great *Sanctuary* againſt the Caprice of a ſingle Judge would be for ever loſt.

You certainly will allow there is nothing more indiſpenſably neceſſary for

(* Chap. 16. p. 374.)

the

the well being of Society, nor any Thing more productive of Improvement in a Country, than that the Property of Individuals ſhould be thought *ſecure*; but to this End juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered with an *equal Hand*, as alſo be diſpenſed at an *eaſy Rate*.---So different an Effect would ſuch an UNION have, as involving a Loſs of the upper Houſe of the Iriſh Parliament, that, you will readily admit the Deciſion of Cauſes on Appeal would be very *partial*---It would at leaſt be very *Expenſive!*

From hence Gentlemen you muſt ſee that on a UNION, the *Public* and *Private* Rights of Ireland, would in every Reſpect be at the Mercy and diſpoſal of a Party---A Power I am conſcious the Friends to either Country could not wiſh to ſee created, as both Coun-

tries would have to dread the Conſequence.

Having ſaid thus much as to the Effect of thoſe political Innovations, I muſt add another Proof of the Injury the two Kingdoms would Experience from the Annihilation of the Iriſh Legiſlature---but at the ſame Time I muſt allow, that what I am about to ſtate, although of immenſe Importance, is as well as many other Points of a ſubordinate kind, compared to the foregoing; I mean the Deſtruction of that *Spur*, to Exertion and Induſtry by which alone, Commerce and Manufactures, (the Sources of the Wealth of Nations) are brought to Perfection; and this by leſſening that Appetite for Diſtinction, which Men may now arrive at, by acquiring a Seat amongſt the Repreſentatives of the People.---It is at preſent,

in

in both Countries, an incentive to uſeful Activity, and operates forcibly in promoting important Reſearches through literary Improvement.

But upon new modelling the Conſtitution in the Manner pointed out, none who are confined to *active* or *uſeful* Employments, could be among the Number of the *chuſen few*.—Theſe could not ſpare to ſpend a Year in London—the Preſence of the great *Manufacturers*, *Merchants*, and *Lawyers*, is neceſſary at home.—Thus all thoſe muſt be excluded, and of courſe deprived of a favorite Object, which, otherwiſe would ſerve as a Reward for their Aſſiduity and Labour.—I am ſure, you Gentlemen, cannot reliſh ſo new fangled an Experiment!—The Gentlemen of Ireland cannot, and *Fellow-feeling* at leaſt forbids thoſe of England—conſcious that they,

they, themſelves, could not endure to be deprived of ſuch a *Right*.—I muſt here aſk, whether it be not a thirſt after Diſtinction and Fame, implanted within the Breaſt of Man, that rouſes him to thoſe Exertions which tend to the Improvement of the Arts?—I do believe that this deſire Operates more univerſally and forcibly, than the ſordid Idea of hoarding up in Coffers, which latter, we find a very rare thing. If then this very praiſe-worthy Ambition is clogged, the progreſs towards Improvement in the uſeful Arts is checked; and I do believe, that Man in ſuch a State of Things, would have no other Idea, than to merely exiſt. On the contrary, why does the Merchant or Lawyer, labour for the greateſt Part of a Life, but to arrive at Diſtinction, by being honoured with a Seat amongſt the Repreſentatives of the People.

People.—Hence this may be eſteemed a very great Spur to Commerce and the Arts—but take away this *Stimulus*, and you deſtroy the energetic Spirit; nor would Ireland alone ſuffer by this, for her conſequent Decreaſe in Wealth would be ſeverely felt by England, as the latter muſt ever acquire additional Weight in the Scale of Europe, from the increaſed Wealth of the former;—a ſevere blow this, to the future Conſequence of Great Britain, notwithſtanding the temporary Benefit it might be fancied to derive, from a Miniſter being able to raiſe the Sums he wanted off Ireland, without having to apply to the *Liberality* of the Parliament of either Country.—It is true England would no longer have to dread Ireland becoming her Rival in Commerce and Manufactures, but ſhe would have to lament the want of her very powerful

Support

Support as an Ally in Time of War, and of her Imports in Time of Peace.

I have Gentlemen, ſubmitted for your Conſideration, the *horrid Idea* I entertain of the Meaſure of ſuch a UNION, as affecting *both* Countries.—It now only remains to point your Attention, moſt particularly, to one very important Conſequence immediately affecting England, but which would in the End ſpread its baneful Effects, to all thoſe Countries and People, that are under her Sovereign Power—I mean neither more nor leſs, than the *total* and *radical* Deſtruction of her *Glorious Conſtitution!*—This would be a loſs which would reduce her People, and every Thing along with them, to a ſtate equally degraded as Ireland—Their right of granting or withholding Supplies would be alike deſpiſed, for-

on

on ſuch a UNION taking Place, *Ireland* would be at all Calls bound to ſupply the Demands of the Miniſter; and thus the *Power* of the *Crown* would be raiſed to an unexampled Pitch, at once deſtructive of the *Balance* of the Conſtitution, and the noble Fabric itſelf!—Conſider the Danger of ſuch an *extenſive* Power in the Hands of a Miniſter, and alſo how ſeldom ſuch an unknown Power has been wiſely directed.—You will readily behold, in this Acquiſition of *miniſterial* Influence, the *loſs* of that moſt valuable Part of your *Bill* of *Rights*, which gives to the People of England, a *full Power* of curbing the *Exploits* of a Miniſter, by a *refuſal* of the Means to carry them on, and finally an Eſtabliſhment of abſolute Sway.

What might not be the fatal Conſequence of a pernicious Direction of this increaſed Power, it is impoſſible to ſay—ſurely a Country like England whoſe *proud Elevation* amongſt other Nations, has grown out of a *well poiſed* Conſtitution, could not reliſh a Scheme of this Kind! We have had a ſad Example before us of the fatal Conſequences of Deſpotiſm.---In France we have beheld all the Miſeries of a Civil War---The *People* of *England* have heard enough of the ſad Diſaſters, which have followed a *too diſtended* Power of the *Crown* under a *Steuart*.---And they have learned from their Anceſtors, the Neceſſity of holding the *Purſe of the Nation!*---A Power that would no longer remain, was the Wealth of Ireland to be ſquandered away at the Pleaſure of any Miniſter.

How

How many even in the preſent State of Affairs, have found fault, with the increaſing Power of the Miniſter.—The late and preſent Times certainly juſtify much energy.—But although all were now moſt fully to agree, that the ſeveral Branches of the Britiſh Conſtitution *are now well balanced*, you cannot however heſitate declaring that a UNION with Ireland, on the foregoing *Broad baſis* would moſt certainly *deſtroy* that Balance, and that the Power of the *Executive Branch* would *then* be too great.

In favour of the Meaſure as to Ireland, it has been vainly held out, that Engliſh Capital would flow into the Country.—Iriſh Capital would flow out of the Country in every Shape, and daily diminiſh with declining Induſtry. It ſeems extremely abſurd to think,

that Engliſhmen would leave their Country and Relations to which they are particularly attached, and under whoſe Conſtitution they might expect ſome Protection, to go to a Country where they could have no ſuch proſpect.--At no time have the Engliſh been inclined to *emigrate* from their antient Home.--They have not ran to Scotland, though the latter have to England.--Yet if any thing could induce an induſtrious People to wander from Home, Scotland affords many Inducements.--She abounds in Fuel.--Her Laws are ſimple and ſtrictly enforced, and her People are honeſt and well-informed. There are none of thoſe Inducements in Ireland.

It has alſo been fancied (and mere Conjectures ſhould prove no Reaſon for the Surrender of ſubſtantial Acquiſitions)

ſitions) that by a Union, of which the principal Features are a Loſs of Ireland's Parliament, and a *draining* Power repoſed in the Hands of a Miniſter, the *Spirit* of *Rebellion* would be cruſhed. Surely, Gentlemen, there appears nothing in ſuch a *diſuniting* Meaſure, that could tend to produce ſuch an Effect, if it ſhould appear not to be already ſilenced for ever.—The gallant Yeomen in Arms, aided by the native Troops of Ireland, have put down the late Rebellion, and with the Aſſiſtance of Providence will again, if ever it ſhould rear its *Briſtly-head*.—The Authors of it have paid ſeverely for their criminal Audacity and Folly.—their Followers have, no doubt, ſeen their Error, and we may, in their name, ſay with Milton—" Thrice happy if they know " their Happineſs and perſevere up- " right"—But ſhould there be any

amongſt

amongſt them ſo fooliſh as to wiſh for a Republic, in order to pull to Pieces ſo glorious a Fabric as their Conſtitution.—If there be any *who wiſh* to make thoſe Wounds (ſo happily inclined to heal) bleed afreſh, let them, I beſeech, look into the Hiſtory of the Civil-Wars in the Time of Charles the Firſt and after, ſo fully deſcribed by the great Clarendon, at the concluſion of his Hiſtory in the Words following:—

" In this wonderful Manner and with
" this incredible Expedition did God
" put an End to a Rebellion that had
" raged near *twenty Years*, and been
" carried on with all the horrid Cir-
" cumſtances of Murder, Devaſtation
" and Parricide, that Fire and Sword,
" in the Hands of the moſt wicked
" Men in the World could be Inſtru-
" ments of; almoſt to the Deſolation
" of two Kingdoms, and the exceed-

" ing

" ing defacing and deforming the " third;"—to which, as to the Iriſh Rebellion, we may add the following Words of the ſame Author as applicable to the Year 1798:—" So ended the " Year 1648, a Year of Reproach and " Infamy above all others which had " paſſed before it; a Year of the higheſt " Diſſimulation and Hypocriſy of the " deepeſt Villainy and moſt bloody " Treaſons that any Nation was ever " curſed with or under."

As to religious Controverſy it can prove nothing tending to the neceſſity of a *Relinquiſhment* of parliamentary and other Rights; for it is entirely done away by the Introduction of Irreligion, and the Deſtruction of Papal Influence, which has been declining for many Years and received its *final* Death-wound in France, there aſſailed by the Hands

Hands of its Followers.---Thus the Root is gone, and the Branches muſt follow of courſe.---So that if a rebellious Spirit exiſts with any in Ireland, it muſt be traced to ſome *other* Source, not to be done away by a Union. The example of *licentious France* is the true Fountain-ſpring of Rebellion againſt the Government.---To *plunder*, and in order to accompliſh that End, to *murder*, have been the criminal objects of the late Rebellion.---To ſupport the Conſtitution is the only mode of preſerving *true Religion*, the Want of which has been the Cauſe of many Miſchiefs.---There is no Calamity that ſtands more in need of a Cure:---It is in Truth a peculiar Calamity, fallen moſt heavily on this Age, which, while it takes its Riſe from the Corruption of thoſe Times, and has monſtrouſly increaſed ſince the *French Revolution* amongſt

amongſt a certain *Party*, has produced a bare-faced Contempt and Diſuſe of all Religion whatſoever, ſave ſome ſmall outward Appearance.—With thoſe even the Shadow of Godlineſs and Virtue is fled—Atheiſm and Prophaneneſs, diligently cultivated, have not failed to produce a Proſtitution of *all* Manners in Contempt of *all* Governments.

This it is, that may be productive of Diſturbances in Ireland; but ſuch may very reaſonably be expected to meet a ſimilar Fate with thoſe lately ſuppreſſed by a gallant and loyal Yeomanry and Soldiery.

Say not, Ye therefore, who vaunt of the Meaſure, that Scotland, or any other Country upon the face of the Globe, can be held forth as a *Proof* of the Expediency of a Union with England and

and Ireland; for as each differ, in Point of *Time* and *Place*, there can be no Similarity.

Say not, that by a Union they would conſolidate their preſent Legiſlatures into one, for their preſent *checking* Power then coming to be loſt, all *legiſlative Eſſence* would vaniſh.

Say not, that *Articles* of Union would avail, for they could either *directly* or *indirectly* (no matter which) be ſwerved from, at any Time.

Say not, that the Power of the Crown would acquire no *preponderating* Weight through a Union, for the *Liberality* of the People of England would not then be *ſolicited*.

Say not, that Juſtice would then be *fairly* and *freely* adminiſtered to Ireland, for her *Judges in the laſt Reſort*, namely,

her

her Peers, would become merged and out of reach, and thus Juſtice be unattainable!

Say not, that by a Union, Iriſh Manufacture and Commerce would be advanced, for no Man would, then, lay out his Capital on ſo *precarious* a Tenure!

Say not, that *Engliſh* Capital would *flow in*, while *Iriſh* flowed out, for as the Engliſh have never *flocked* to Scotland abounding in every Inducement, they would not *flock* to a Country, where their *Winnings* would be plucked from them, at the *Nod* of a Miniſter, while ſtill they are untrained to wandering.

Say not, that the Strength of England would remain undiminiſhed, for

by a Depreſſion of Wealth you would take from Strength.

Say not, that the Spirit of Induſtry in Ireland would not be leſſened, for you would deprive the People of the greateſt Spur to Induſtry, by *ſhutting the Doors* of Parliament againſt the *moſt* uſeful Members of the Community.

Say not, that Abſentees would be beneficial to Ireland, for her quondam Repreſentatives with their Followers alone, would carry 1,000,000, annually out of the Country!

Say not, that Rebellion or fancied Diſputes of Religion, can furniſh any juſt Pretence for a Union, for the gallant Sons of Ireland have, and at all Times will, ſtand forth to quell it.

Say

Say not, that it is neceſſary to ſtrengthen, in this Way, the *Hands* of the Empire; for while acting with *Heart* and *Hand*, England has a moſt powerful Support in the Yeomanry Troops of Ireland, and in the voluntary Contributions of her People at large.

Say not, that if the Iriſh Catholics are as *three* to *one*, they are therefore a dangerous Body in Rebellion, for it does not appear, that a Union would quiet them, the ill-affected of that Perſuaſion being merely of the *lower* Orders, and urged by *Republican* Principles, as fully proved by their Leaders being principally Democratic Proteſtants.

Say not, that it is merely the Gentlemen of the Bar object, becauſe they

as being Men of liberal Education, are *well qualified*, and *juſtly* relied upon, for their *unbiaſſed* Opinions on ſo difficult and extenſive a Subject.

Say not, that any Man's *Dictum* ſhould ſtand in favour of a UNION, for it is the ſelf-evident Expediency of the Meaſure that ſhould alone have Weight.

Say not, that Land in Ireland would retain its Value, for a UNION by producing a Decreaſe of Wealth, and general Inſecurity of Property, the Value of Land muſt neceſſarily be diminiſhed.

But *rather* Say, that England would not be willing to ſurrender, on ſuch an Occaſion, *her Public* and *Private* Rights!

Rights!---And *why*, in the Name of *Reaſon* ſhould *Ireland?*

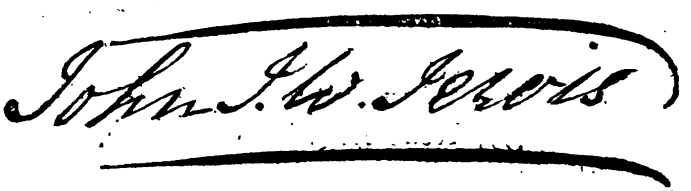
Ceaſe then, Ye declaimers, in Favour of a Meaſure, that you muſt ſee, whilſt you have *ſtudiouſly* avoided touching upon the Subject of *Taxation*, would plunge both Countries into an Abyſs of Miſery!

I now have the HONOR to Subſcribe

myſelf, GENTLEMEN,

Your very obedient,

Humble Servant,



Dublin,
15th Dec. 1798.

ERRATA.

Page, 7, Read *next* as to her Situation.
9, Read ſubſiſting *Right of* Repreſentation.
14, Read in ſeeming favor *of*.
16, Read as that grand Object *can have nothing in View, but* an unbounded.
17, Read having *premiſed*.
27, Read the Torrent of Britiſh *Weight*.
30, Read there *could* be no Room.
Do. Read crafty Deſigns of *any*.
31, Read *and be* ſevered.
32, Read in *Oppoſition* to the Legiſlative.
36, Read and *this* while ſhe has.
39, Read *Auguis* for *Anginis*.
Do. Read *muſt* be conſidered as a mere Deluſion.

5

LETTER

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS,

ON THE PROPOSED

UNION.

IN WHICH HIS EXCELLENCY'S POLITICAL SITUATION IS CANDIDLY DISCUSSED.

BY AN IRISHMAN.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY JAMES MOORE, COLLEGE-GREEN.

1798.

A

LETTER

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD,

POSSESSING, as I do, a very high veneration for the character your ſervices to the *united empire* have juſtly procured you—diſpaſſionate in my view of the means you have adopted to undermine the falſe impreſſions, which the deluders of my countrymen in our late unhappy rebellion, had engraven on our miſguided people—diſintereſted, as to myſelf, in the object of the following obſervations,—ſuffer me to addreſs you, as I declare I conſider you the inſtrument of no party, but anxious to be the reſtorer *of domeſtic peace to the Britiſh dominions.*

Your

Your appointment to the vice-regency of this kingdom was not the effect of any natural routine that your former political life could have led to. After the various and arduous callings your talents had been engaged in, had Ireland remained a peaceful and united kingdom, your Excellency would have continued at your useful, but more practicable station, and have administered the ordnance of the sister kingdom with safety and utility, but still have felt your situation an honourable retirement, the reward of multiplied and well exerted services.

But unfortunately for us, and, perhaps your Excellency will say, for you also, amidst the convulsions that the baneful extension of French principles had created, Ireland began to listen to their *false* and seductive incitements, and a considerable portion of our people, from various motives of speculation, lent an ear to every allurement their specious promises held out, while a still more powerful portion were reflecting on many grounds of complaint which the *administration of her existing government* had furnished them with. Fortunately for the kingdom, the crimes and the enormities of the French had disgusted the feelings of most of my countrymen, the republicans were only esteemed by those of their own description, whilst the power of the country flew to arms, and I will assert, for I do it with pride, defended with vigour and effect, the at that moment arduous *pass* between monarchy and republicanism—

republicaniſm—unaſſiſted by any of the ſupplies that the paternal watchfulneſs of our Sovereign quickly ſent to our aid—I feel every obligation to his careful anxiety, and to their honourable promptitude; I admit their readineſs in aſſiſting us may have prevented a longer continuance in open rebellion; but I aſſert they had no ſhare in defeating the great and awful ſcheme which the 23d of laſt May had commenced the developement of, and which, had not the duty we owed to each other taught *us* to repel, would have proved to Great Britain a day, the bad conſequences whereof her millions and her militia would have been long employed in repairing.

Alarmed at the criſis, doubtful of a people, *the great bulk of whom* he ought not to have diſtruſted, conſcious of the manifold miſmanagement with which he had adminiſtered us, it was to your Excellency that the Britiſh miniſter had recourſe, to ſubdue the obſtinate, to conciliate the deluded, and to repel the expected invader.

Your Excellency arrived;—let me aſk you, did you find the country rebels to a man? Did you find every man not in pay unemployed? Or did you find the *power of the people* armed, or willing to be armed, in ſupport of government and ſociety?

By the *power* of the country, I mean not to be underſtood that portion, which, in a nicely computed compariſon, may be termed moſt numerous. I ſhall admit (if neceſſary) that the United

United Iriſhmen had ſeduced a majority of my countrymen, but I mean the *true ſolid ſtrength of the State.*—Did your Excellency find the property of the country in rebellion? Did you find rebellion amidſt the ranks of civilization, or amidſt the hordes of ignorance and barbarity?—If only in the latter, I contend, you found the *momentous and practical power* of the country in its natural ſtate, loyal to its beneficent Sovereign, attached to its valuable Conſtitution, and contending for the exiſtence of ſociety amongſt us.

If I am aſked to account why Ireland became ſo readily the victim of French miſſionaries, and not England, I anſwer with readineſs, for it is to my purpoſe, though with reluctance I avow it, that I look to an unfortunately received ſyſtem of Government, as the primary cauſe of it.—And here let me not be underſtood to glance at in particular the Adminiſtration of Lord Camden, Lord Weſtmoreland, or any of your Excellency's predeceſſors one more than the other—the objection goes to them all, to the principles they have been taught as the foundation of Government, and which have tended among us to corrupt thoſe liable to depravity, through them to mis-govern the kingdom, and thereby to detach the honourable and diſguſt the well-intentioned.

Your Excellency may here juſtly aſk me—Do I mean to aſſert that the honourable and well intentioned were thereby driven to *rebellion?*—Far from it, but they became for a length of time previous

previous to the rebellion *paſſive*—they at ſeaſons breathed forth abortive murmurings againſt the exiſting grievances, but their whiſpers of complaint, though ill refuted, were of no avail—at length to diſſent became ſedition, every utterance towards redreſs was ſilenced by the Drum of Alarm, the well-affected betook themſelves to ſilence, 'till the unceaſing working of our enemies had made rebellion all but matured; then matters ran to extremes and every man worthy of eſtimation flocked round his Sovereign—'twas either Anarchy, or Society; and I truſt I may ſay, no nation ever exhibited a ſpirit of which its inhabitants could be more proud.

Suffer me here, my Lord, to ſeparate myſelf from any connection with thoſe men, who, for a few Seſſions latterly, have ſeceded from their Parliamentary duty—I conſider ſuch men and thoſe who eſteem them as the refuſe of a diſappointed Faction, who, fruſtrated in their attempts to arrive at power under the preſent form of Government, were willing to hazard Government itſelf, in the multiplied hope, either that in the ſtruggle ſome occurrence would lead to their elevation, or at the worſt, that their enemies would become ſo humiliated as to afford them ground for gratifying their revenge—'Tis not with ſuch men I would wiſh to be claſſed, I would wiſh at every criſis of public affairs to do my duty, a ſenſe of which is my ſole inducement in offering my ſentiments thus publicly.—I belong not to one

party

party more than to the other, and I wiſh merely to be underſtood, ſtrongly as I deteſt rebellion, as hinting to your Excellency, that the late or preſent rebellion, (call it which you pleaſe) received great ſtrength from the torpor of many of the beſt affected of this kingdom for years previous to its breaking out, which aroſe from their diſapprobation of the mode of Government and the inefficacy of every ſtruggle to correct it, but who became when its exiſtence was endangered (bad as they thought it) *its moſt powerful and effectual ſupporters.*

The *claſs* of men I have juſt deſcribed, I ſhould preſume to be that which your Excellency would *be moſt inclined to reſpect, moſt prone to attend to, and moſt unwilling* TO ESTRANGE, *at leaſt* TO INJURE AND OPPRESS; they are what I call the power of the country, and let me tell you, their voice is the voice of the nation.

When I ſpeak in the courſe of theſe obſervations of the corruption of Parliament, or the venality of the Government, I ſpeak not of my own opinion. Under your Excellency I really do not fear the latter; and as to the former, it is to my purpoſe to reſcue the Parliament from obloquy, and to reconcile the people to their repreſentatives—I merely allude to what, I fear, has made impreſſion on a very reſpectable portion of the people, and I argue from it, that ſhould your Excellency in oppoſition to their voice yield to the alarm, that may with perfect integrity induce

the

the Legiſlative Aſſemblies to aſſent to an unpopular meaſure; that portion of the people may be led to attribute different motives both to your Excellency and their Repreſentatives from thoſe that I ſhould incline to do, and which, though they vary eſſentially as to the guilt of them, make but little difference in point of effect.

Your Excellency has by this time moſt probably been led to enquire to what public purpoſe can theſe obſervations tend? I will then anſwer in one ſentence—To the propoſed meaſure of an Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and I have prefaced my thoughts on that ſubject with the foregoing remarks, to juſtify as far as I can, that claſs of men from any of the obloquy attendant upon rebellion, *to raiſe their conſequence as high as I can in your Excellency's eſtimation*, to do juſtice to their love of good Government, and conſequently to prove *their attachment to our connexion with Great Britain*, and to enable me more readily to ſatisfy your Excellency and the Empire, that to force a meaſure of that importance on the kingdom *by arms or intimidation*, or to procure it *through the medium of our preſent Legiſlative Bodies*, without the aſſent, or againſt the opinion of ſuch men, may bear the public features of an act of Tyranny, and, if ſuch, would certainly be not palliated by any circumſtance of juſtification, but aggravated by the moſt unprecedented ingratitude.

With reſpect to the former of theſe means of

obtaining the meaſure, I know it will be ſaid, that no ſuch thought ever occurred to your Excellency or the Britiſh Miniſter. But I appeal to your own good ſenſe—Will an act of Parliament, containing a ſurrender of every imperial prerogative, obtained from an Houſe of Commons, delegated without any thought of ſuch a meaſure in the conſtituents who elected them, from a Parliament wherein an inconſiderable number of ariſtocratic potentates have (with thoſe in the abſolute pay of government) a deciſive controul—at a time when your Excellency is armed with an unprecedented foreign force to carry ſuch act (if you will cede to the ſanction of it) into effect and execution, be called a voluntary ſurrender of their rights by the people?

Next, as to the parliament themſelves—it is true they are the conſtituted repreſentatives of the people; but independant of the influence which your Excellency, as chief governor, and ſome of the principal noblemen poſſeſſed of boroughs may exert in the lower Houſe of Parliament—anſwer the public, as a great ſtateſman—Have any of theſe *repreſentatives* already delivered their ſentiments to the cabinet, on the ſubject? if they have, aſk the *conſtituents* if they were conſulted in the formation of them? Aſk ſome of the moſt leading, have they *cha·ged* their opinions? Did they in October laſt rail againſt an Union? Do they in December continue to rail, or do they argue for it? Has any expreſſion of *national opinion* wrought that change, or by what means has it

it been procured?—Theſe are queſtions, my Lord, on which the public are become very inquiſitive, and I wiſh to call your Excellency's *attention* to them, and to aſk you, will you, in the hiſtory of your political life, ſuffer the Union, which all Europe will ſay *you have procured*, to admit of a doubt, whether or not it was an act of *volition* on the part of the people?—There can be but one anſwer.

But here I know it will be argued, that the propoſed Union is founded on a baſis that can never admit of the idea of *conqueſt*, that it contains ſuch obvious advantages to the people of this country, that it is rather a meaſure of *ceſſion* than *coercion*; to that I anſwer—if it be ſo, *let the people call for it*. It is not the public feature of a favor, to come forth clandeſtinely from a foreign cabinet, and with undue precipitation; nor is it eaſy to reconcile to a man of moderate underſtanding, that he is about to receive a *favor*, when he is called upon to ſurrender his *freedom at the outſet*, and to be driven to ſophiſtry and calculation, to be convinced of his remuneration. The Union is a meaſure of abſolute *revolution*—by it we are in one moment to be converted from an independant kingdom to a dependant province. *Great* indeed muſt be the *advantage* that could repay us for the ſurrender; and to be great, one would ſuppoſe it ſhould be ſo *obvious*, as to be *univerſally diſcernible*—diſcernible, not to the all-ſeeing mind of an Engliſh ſecretary, not to the

ſubmiſſive acquieſcent underſtanding of an Iriſh courtier—but to the *plain and unbiaſſed* comprehenſion of every *diſintereſted Iriſhman.* To deprive the latter of his rights, upon the temporary ſuſpenſion of national feeling, and the timid alarm of the former, is what I call upon your Excellency not to yield to, nor to ſuffer our Sovereign to yield to, till you are *conſcientiouſly aſſured* the people are *contented.*

You will be told by many of your adviſers, that to conſult the *people* is to diſturb the *public mind*, to have recourſe to aggregate meetings, and conventions by ſheriffs—is but to foment ſedition and encourage diſaffection. All I can ſay, is, if the *people are not to be conſulted*, I know not how your Excellency is to proceed; for ſure I am, that their preſent repreſentatives *may* not, in every inſtance, ſpeak their voice, and I am equally ſure, that to effect a meaſure of ſuch importance, without ſome communication with the people, ſhould it turn out hereafter a meaſure *againſt their opinion*, will fill the remainder of your days with remorſe.

But, my Lord, ſuch adviſers ſurely forget, that in making ſuch an objection they admit beyond the poſſibility of controverſy, *an argument againſt the meaſure that ariſes from the time of its introduction.* Petition and remonſtrance are ſurely unalienable rights veſted in the people—to deprive them of thoſe rights, on ſuch a ſubject, would be the worſt ſtretch of *arbitrary power.* Such adviſers forget, that the other day all queſtions relating

lating to the public in general, were ſmothered by a perpetual exclamation of "the *impropriety of the moment*, that a criſis of general ferment was ill adapted to rational diſcuſſion." Even an inquiry into the cauſes of the then exiſting diſcontents, though probably with a view to aſſuage them, was, in my mind, not improperly diſcountenanced, from the agitation it would produce—— Is ſuch an æra, then, a moment your Excellency will admit of, for the diſcuſſion of the moſt awful and momentous revolution our Conſtitution can ſuſtain?

In the obſervations on this ſubject which I mean to addreſs to your Excellency, I ſhould hope to convince you that the conſideration held out as the price of the ſurrender, muſt fail; that it neither holds out ſecurity at home, or advantage from abroad; that it benefits no religious ſect; that it lowers every claſs of ſociety, and conſequently can be acceptable to none; and finally, that it is fraught with ſuch general danger to the Empire, from a poſſible annihilation of the Britiſh Conſtitution, as to call upon us in that point of view, though convinced it would benefit ourſelves to reject our particular advantage from the dread of general injury.

Your Excellency may be led to imagine that I am one of thoſe men who are impreſſed with ſuch high-flown ideas of liberty and imperial independence, as to conſider no ſituation a kingdom could be reduced to, ſo humiliating, and no offer

offer that could be held out, ſo ſubſtantially ſerviceable, as ſhould induce its inhabitants to liſten to a ſurrender of its rights; but it is not ſo. I do admit *there are circumſtances in which a kingdom may be placed* that would juſtify ſuch a ſurrender. But I ſay, the conſideration ought to be *immenſe*, of *equal value* with the *transfer*, and *unattainable by any reaſonable and practicable exertions*. To bring it home to this kingdom, I admit there might be a point of commercial reſtriction as to countries, wherewith we ought by the laws of nature to be allowed to trade, or of private impoſitions as to duties or monopolies, or of general inſecurity of perſon or property, that if ſhe were placed in and could not look forward to the removal of ſuch reſtrictions, or to the attainment of ſecurity, but through the aſſiſtance of Great Britain, *and that Great Britain in ſuch caſe had no equivalent to expect from us, and would not furniſh her aſſiſtance or ſuffer us to trade without ſuch ſurrender*, it might become a meaſure of political prudence to purchaſe ſuch an extenſive amelioration of our condition—*but I go not one ſtep farther*, and I hope to ſhew your Excellency, and every man who reads theſe obſervations, that our ſituation is not ſo humiliated, nor has Great Britain ſuch conceſſions to make to us, as would require or juſtify us in *ſurrendering our primary and moſt valuable inheritance*.

On this part of the ſubject, I confeſs, I have of late been much diſguſted with obſervations I have

have heard thrown out as coming from our ſiſter kingdom, that I ſincerely believe are ſpread for the moſt ſiniſter purpoſes.—It is hinted that Great Britain is diſpleaſed at the aſſiſtance ſhe has been compelled to afford us; that ſhe regrets the abſence of her militia, and murmurs at the payment of her troops in our kingdom—Such obſervations, if founded, in my apprehenſion, are little encouraging to any increaſe of confidence and reliance on her bounty, and call loudly on our people to keep their *repreſentatives at home*—I feel that my country has by late enormities ſullied its national character, and reduced its reſpectability among the kingdoms of Europe, but has it loſt all rank among them? I truſt not—*Where were French principles firſt checked? I anſwer here*—Where did the warm and enthuſiaſtic love of *royalty and ſubordination unite itſelf to put down* the wide-ſpread and powerfully urged exertions of *republicaniſm and equality?* In Ireland—Had the Iriſh gentlemen yielded like thoſe of the newly formed continental republics to the firſt burſt of rebellion on the firſt diſcharge of the invader—Where would now be that gem in his Majeſty's Crown? Is it for this that Great Britain contemns us? Impoſſible—When ſhe remembers the aſſiſtance that is derived to her fleets from 100,000 of our ſeamen, ſhe is incapable of repining at a temporary aid of 30,000 of her militia—When ſhe remembers the expenditure of blood and treaſure in defence of her old enemies the Dutch,

and

and her faithleſs Ally the Flemings, fruitleſs, abortive, and diſgraceful, as it proved.—When ſhe remembers the ready and the continued aid ſhe afforded her Ally the Queen of Portugal, ſhe diſdains to murmur at the inconſiderable aſſiſtance ſhe has yielded to her ſiſter country.—England has not forgot that when the petty and vanquiſhed kingdom of Corſica became a victim to her arms, ſhe gladly embraced a treaty, ſecuring the independence of that ſubordinate and inconſiderable iſland, ſeparated by thouſands of leagues of ocean, then covered with fleets of the enemy; that ſhe anxiouſly expended her reſources, and employed her powerful fleets in the defence of it till ſhe was expelled by the inhabitants, all without a murmur—Great Britain, I am perſuaded, remembers with a return of gratitude, a former period, when the war eſtabliſhment *of this kingdom was ſtretched to an extent that our means were ill-adapted to bear*, yet *our* affections were warmly prompt *to vote*, when our military force TO THE BARE AND INSUFFICIENT ſupply of our principal garriſon towns were *employed in her ſervice ! ! !*—And therefore, will never plume herſelf on an omnipotence when compared to us, and degrade us to a ſtate of ſervility and indigence *that dare not aſpire to look up to her*—She is incapable of boaſting of the ſecurity which *our* trade has *ſuſtained* when *accompanying hers*, from the convoy ſhe has appointed for the common protection of the Britiſh trade—ſhe is as incapable

of

of boaſting of the inconſiderable aſſiſtance in finance ſhe has *inſured on our national ſecurity* in one inſtance; ſhe is incapable of inſulting our fraternity and regretting her manlineſs, and will hear with diſdain that a court writer is ſuffered to vilify the prompt alacrity of her militia, *by enumerating their numbers, and appreciating their expence?* She never will abandon the beſt claim ſhe poſſeſſes to our confidence and affection, and the man who advances ſuch a thought ſhould be held in common deteſtation by both countries, as the worſt enemy to the very exiſtence of a connexion between them; he forgets that when Great Britain repels the invader of Ireland, ſhe but protects us from an enemy that *her own power* and greatneſs has drawn down upon us; 'tis not to the conqueſt of Ireland as a province, nor to the affiliation of it as a republic, *permanently*, that France has looked—no Frenchman that is permitted to walk about could indulge ſo frantic a ſpeculation—but Ireland affords convenient opportunities of *attacking the Engliſh power*, every wound inflicted on her is partially felt in Great Britain, and will ever be an object of intrigue and invaſion during a war between theſe powers.—May no adverſe politician ever create any diſunion of ſentiment that may cripple or deſtroy their co-operation!

I come now to conſider the queſtion of *adequate compenſation.*—I have before ſtated I conſider that as not to be in exiſtence, except in relation

to our *trade* or our *ſecurity*. As to the firſt of theſe, it certainly lies out of my ſphere, but there are perſons ſufficiently converſant therein, and ſufficiently intereſted, to ſecure the public the beſt and moſt impartial information; many of the moſt eminent of theſe I have had the good fortune to have been enabled to conſult, and I have obtained one uniform anſwer, *that except the Eaſt Indian monopoly could be diſſolved in favour of the Iriſh, there is no improvement of our preſent ſituation in point of trade that Ireland is ſuſceptible of, that is at all momentous, or even conſiderable: that they do not conſider it at all a commercial ſubject, and neither foreſee evil or advantage to reſult from it.*

If then, my Lord, the advantages are ſo remote from their view, as to admit even a doubt of the ſoundneſs of their opinion, will any man for one moment argue, that it can be ſo great as to be an equivalent for the ſurrender we are called upon to make; and with reſpect to the eſtimation in which ſuch opinion is to be held, for one I am inclined to pay it implicit deference; the mercantile character is the very laſt that I would ſuppoſe capable of ſurrendering *real advantage* to the *feelings of over-ſtrained patriotiſm*, or *metaphyſical reaſonings upon liberty*; they are a claſs of men as much as any other attached to, and as ſuſceptible of, what is likely to be conducive to their intereſt; they have ſhewn themſelves during the late diſturbances, which proved the diſpoſition of all who interfered in them, to be

as

as warmly zealous in defence of their Sovereign and ſociety, as any other deſcription of his ſubjects; they have been forward in their obedience to the late acts of parliament, which, (though fully juſtified by the circumſtances that led to them) are ſurely temporary ſurrenders of ſome of our beſt privileges; their judgment cannot be branded with any epithet of ſedition or averſion to the connexion with Great Britain, but muſt be received and reſpected as the *matured and decided opinion* of *competent and diſpaſſionate men.* However I do not call upon your Excellency to decide this queſtion upon my authority, I only deprecate your doing ſo upon the ſuggeſtion of any other individual to the contrary. I aſſert that the mercantile intereſt ſee no real advantage likely to reſult to them from the propoſed meaſure, *and I call upon your Excellency to collect their opinion from themſelves.**

The queſtion of public ſecurity is certainly not ſo eaſily decided; on that point every man in the ſtate may have his diſtinct and appropriate opinion.—Mine I confeſs to be, that our ſecurity againſt each other, which is the only point of view in which it can be ſeriouſly conſidered, will not only not be increaſed, but be *very conſiderably and dangerouſly diminiſhed.*

In addition to theſe cauſes of *rooted diviſion* that have hitherto been conſidered as inherent among us, of late has ſprung up and will not eaſily be

* See the Reſolutions of the Bankers and Merchants of Dublin.

put down, a ſource of danger the *attendant upon rebellion*, and the offſpring of the licentiouſneſs which prevailed during that period—I mean the *aſſaſſination and other barbarities to which the upper claſs of people are now expoſed from the habit of cruelty, and the diſregard of humanity which a ſhort acquaintance with power ſeems to have been ſo ſucceſsful in ſpreading among our lower order of people.* It is inconceivable how quickly the mind of man becomes habituated to atrocities of this deſcription! how ſlow it is in eradicating the familiarity it has acquired with them!—and I know not how we can look forward to a diſcontinuance of theſe enormities, without the beſt exertion of every man likely to be looked up to. If the lower order of people are now to be ſurrendered to *themſelves*, and never to be viſited, ſave by the agent of an abſentee landlord, periodically going perhaps, from a garriſon town, to demand his employer's rent, you will find that murder and every other crime, the concomitant of ignorance and barbarity, will become inſeparably annexed to the *national character*;—on the contrary, if the Iriſh gentleman now, or as ſoon as his perſonal ſafety will admit, returns to his tenantry, if he ſets them the example of *juſtice, honor, and humanity*, if he contradiſtinguiſhes their *ſavage manners and crimes*, by *urbanity and ſocial virtue*—you will find that a ſenſe of order will gradually be reſtored, and vice fall into diſuſe, as it increaſes in diſrepute.—How the Union will affect the reſi-

dence

dence of thoſe men now eſſential to the very exiſtence of ſociety, is ſo plain to the underſtanding of every man, that I ſhall not trouble your Excellency with any obſervations on it—but merely aſk your Excellency, Do you hope, that if the Union is carried into effect, this country will in twenty years poſſeſs as many men of £2,000 per Ann. that will not expend their income out of this already too-deeply drained kingdom? Will then your Excellency incline to conſider, that meaſure a *boon* which will deprive the nation of all that can cheriſh, foſter, and re-humaniſe it, and commit it to become a chilled, denudated and deſolate waſte?

This I conceive now to be the moſt *prominent* feature of *perſonal inſecurity*, the next I conceive likely to ariſe from the poſſibility of reiterated invaſion or renewed rebellion. Should the former of theſe occur, I think we are fully entitled to a repetition of ſimilar defence on the part of Great Britain, to that we have already experienced; our connexion ſubjects us to the attack, and ſhould enſure to us the means of repelling it. And as to the latter, improbable as any attempt towards renewing the rebellion muſt appear from the weakened, diſperſed, and diſjointed hordes, *I have no fear for my country*—ſhe has already defended herſelf againſt one, when in vigour and union; and I venture to aſſert, that in every ſimilar emergency, to uſe the idea of a celebrated preacher, in a ſermon preached before your Excellency,

cellency, "Ireland will be found equal to Ire-"land."

I come now to the original and fundamental cauſes of diſunion that ariſe from *religious animoſities*, and that promiſe, I confeſs, no ſpeedy removal—but how, my Lord, is an Union to allay them? to do ſo, ſurely it muſt ameliorate the condition of *each*, and to the ſatisfaction of *the other*; to elevate *one* and depreſs the *other*, is not an uſual mode of conciliation to *both*. And here I muſt admit, I am at a loſs to find, how (as far as religious diſtinctions afford a ſource of danger) mutual conceſſions will be borne by *one party*, and felt by *the other*: the catholic, if ſtill diſcontented, aims either at the ſubjugation of the proteſtant, or a full participation of the State: I will hope he only aims at the latter; let us then examine what effect the Union muſt have upon him—it muſt prove a *deciſive*, *final*, *and irrevocable ſettlement* of all the diſqualifications that now exiſt to his excluſion from both. Can the Iriſh catholic look for admiſſion into the Engliſh ſenate, while the Engliſh catholic ſhall be refuſed? Does he look for a precedence, in point of admiſſion there before the diſſenter; or expect an immediate repeal of the corporation and teſt acts, as the price of his acquieſcence to this Union?—No, my Lord, the Iriſh catholic has always appeared too well inſtructed to be ſeduced by ſuch unpromiſing ſpeculations. He well knows, that the Union

will

will remove for ever beyond his graſp the remaining ſtate offices to which his ambition may prompt him to aſpire, but from which his religion excludes him—Is it calculated to content him?

But it will be ſaid, though the *Catholic* may feel *averſe*, yet let not the *Proteſtant complain*—He is for ever ſecured in the full enjoyment of his preſent aſcendancy, the Proteſtant Crown of Great Britain will now become his unqueſtionable ſafeguard, and ſhield him from the attack of any enemy.—Omitting the argument which ariſes from the abſurdity of calling on a State to ſurrender its beſt rights to ſecure ſubordinate and inconſiderable immunities—I anſwer in the name of an Iriſh Proteſtant, *I have no fear for the State aſcendancy we poſſeſs*—Ireland is inſeparably annexed to the Crown of Great Britain, to a Crown the protector of the Proteſtant Church all over Europe, to a nation of Proteſtants, is ſtill poſſeſſed of a Proteſtant Parliament, and of a great majority of Proteſtant property. Unleſs then, Ireland becomes loſt to herſelf, unleſs by a reverſal of the order of nature ſhe ſhould become an object of no importance to Great Britain, unleſs one million of her Proteſtant inhabitants are ſeduced from their religion to become converts to the Catholic, ſhe has nothing to fear for her religious aſcendancy.—No, my Lord, leave Ireland in all material points of conſtitution as you found her, let her unprecedented increaſe of *commerce and population and wealth* proceed as it has hitherto

hitherto done, let *intercourſe* produce *brotherhood*, let *civiliʒation* baniſh *barbarity*, let *wiſdom* diſperſe *ignorance*, and with it *perſecution*, and we ſhall ſee the day that the Catholic peaſant will not repine at a ſtate aſcendancy that cannot operate upon him, and when the Catholic gentleman will yield with *chearfulneſs* to a ſtate arrangement that he will feel bears as little on him as it can do, and that he will be convinced is founded in wiſdom and impoſed by neceſſity. But 'tis *civiliʒation* alone that can introduce amongſt us thoſe *feelings and thoſe rational reflections* that will diſpel the darkneſs of *bigotry, and render perſecution deteſted*.

With reſpect to the Diſſenters, I ſee nothing to diſtinguiſh them from the reſt of their countrymen—they certainly hold at preſent but little ſhare in the repreſentation of this kingdom, however, ſmall as that may be, I ſee no *advantage* to induce them to *ſurrender it*, they inhabit a portion of this kingdom where proſperity has made the moſt rapid ſtrides, and I will leave it to that manly ſpirit and political wiſdom that (with ſome recent exception) has generally guided that body, whether they will make an *unpurchaſed legiſlative experiment*, the conſequence whereof, if beneficial, muſt long remain doubtful, at the *hazard of the neceſſary continuance* of their *progreſſive commercial proſperity*.

It has been a faſhion with thoſe who have been zealous in promoting this meaſure, to hold out promiſes

promiſes of arrangements to the Catholic and Diſſenting Clergy, and with relation to tithes, from whence they derive conſiderable hopes of procuring the acquieſcence of both Catholics and Diſſenters.—But if theſe are held out as a part of the conſideration to the kingdom, they are liable to my general objection, viz. *They are moſt obviouſly and moſt readily attainable without a ſurrender of our Parliament*—A modus for tithes has long been ſpoken of as a meaſure likely to be brought forward in Great Britain, if ſo, it will follow here of courſe, if it is not ſo, neither ſhall we be ſuffered to attempt the change. It is an alteration, nay, I may ſay, a ſpiritual revolution that our country will ſcarcely be permitted to take the *lead in*, though we may be allowed to *follow* and purſue the wiſdom of Great Britain. If ſo, then ſurely, we may *without an Union* enact a copy of their bill; nor do I think it requires a ſurrender of our Parliament to digeſt a meaſure for the improvement of the ſituation of the Catholic and Diſſenting Clergy, a meaſure I think highly deſirable; indeed, I know of no two meaſures more likely to produce quiet in this kingdom, or more eaſy of attainment.

Perceiving, then, *no ſolid* advantage that can ariſe to any of our religious ſects, from an Union, that they have not every *reaſonable ground to look forward to in the preſent order of things*, I own I am led to doubt any man who tells me that one or the other of them are friendly to the meaſure.

However, my Lord, if they are ſo, let them ſatisfy you of it from themſelves, and let them ſatisfy you alſo that their motives are *ſafety* and *peace*. I know there are a ſet of men in this country, I do not mean a religious ſet, but I mean the *vanquiſhed republicans*, who there are reaſons to believe are deſirous to promote it, who tell you of the *bad ſyſtem of adminiſtration*, of the *influence* of the *crown*, and the *venality* of *parliament*.—When the furious *republican* thus readily becomes an advocate for a *remove further* from *liberty* and *independence*, I own I feel ſtrongly inclined to ſuſpect him.—If the republicans ſtill keep their object in view, it may not be an undeſirable change to them, to render the *conſtitution leſs worth contending for, to detach and diſguſt the old admirers and defenders of it, and to drive from the kingdom its true ſupport*, the landed proprietors.—Guard yourſelf, my Lord, againſt adviſers that may be actuated by ſuch motives—or, my Lord, conſider the republican who has abandoned his object—may he not be unſolicitous whether he is *governed* by a *domeſtic or a foreign legiſlature, when both are equally contrarient to his principle*, when, delighting in *anarchy*, all modes of civil *government* are equally *objectionable?*—Such a republican, rankling under the preſſure of recent *diſappointment*, incenſed and revengeful againſt that *power* that *checked*, and *cruſhed*, and *vanquiſhed* him, may feel even *delight* at finding that the warfare *he* fomented

fomented, though it ended in *his diſcomfiture*, has been the foundation of the *humiliation of his opponents*; ſuch feelings as theſe are not inſeparable from the human mind. To do an act (however unintentionally) that could gratify ſuch feelings, would be, as I formerly obſerved, to treat the loyal ſubjects of this kingdom with unparalleled ingratitude.—No, my Lord, if you are ſeriouſly engaged in reſtoring harmony to this nation, perſevere in a ſyſtem of adminiſtration, correſpondent with the ſpirit of the conſtitution, exert the influence of the Crown with an equitable hand, and it will never be complained of; and if the *venality* of Parliament has been a juſt ground of complaint, I ſhould venture to aſſert, that, under your Excellency's government, ſuch a ground muſt fundamentally fail.

Having mentioned the venality of Parliaments, it is in vain for me to diſguiſe that a conſiderable number of unthinking men found thereon an argument in ſupport of the meaſure. No man who remembers that he is an Iriſhman, ſhould be ſeduced to think well of the change, in the proſpect of getting rid of his imperial conſequence; ſhould he be induced to overlook that, he ſhould nevertheleſs before he yields to ſuch feelings, be ſatisfied that the *diſeaſe he complains of is mortal*, and that the *ſuccedaneum* will ſupply him with a *legiſlature pure and incorruptible*. And here I own I am led to indulge an

 hope,

hope, that our own parliamentary ſyſtem is not *loſt beyond cure*. I ſhould conceive that a ſtrong exertion of *ourſelves*, with a little of *your Excellency's aſſiſtance*, might do a great deal. I am not going to adviſe a reform. That meaſure, at all times difficult, is now peculiarly unſeaſonable, beſides the Engliſh government reſiſt it in Great Britain.—I would only ſuggeſt to the men of *property* in this country, whether or no they have contributed to the want of it. Do they, in their reſpective counties, rally round truly *independent* characters, and, ſtanding by each other, *force them* into the repreſentation of the county, or do they generally with ſervility unite, or with indolence yield, to *ſome one leading intereſt*, and thereby render it commanding? Do the *cities* of Ireland call on *reſpected mercantile characters* to repreſent them? or do they not ſelect ſome *popular character*, who is the *ſlave* of *party*, and therefore *corruptible?* Does the *man of wealth* ever think of expending an inconſiderable part of it, and thereby take advantage of the acceſs to Parliament which the borough intereſt admits of, *with a view to benefit his country*, or have they all with ſhabby puſillanimity abandoned the public theatre, juſtifying their *ſloth* and their *falſe economy*, by averring that oppoſition is fruitleſs? I ſay, my Lord, oppoſition has not been found ſo; our Parliament, as at preſent conſtituted, is capable of faithful legiſlation, *if the nation was but true to itſelf*. No man in your

Excellency's

Excellency's ſituation would venture to *force* down improper meaſures againſt the *property* of the country, *well repreſented and unanimouſly honeſt*——Our Parliamentary hiſtory affords not very remote examples to prove this; 'tis but twelve years ſince the property of the country reſiſted the commercial propoſitions, and the Government, as deſirous as any I have ever heard of to carry their point, with a *majority* at their back, yielded to them. It is ſince that time that Parliament has declined in public confidence from the bad ſyſtem I have already alluded to, and it is with reſpect to that, that I deem your *Lordſhip's aſſiſtance ſo uſeful*—ſince that time a multitude of places have been created, not called for by any *increaſe of duty*, not juſtified by any *addition of wealth*, but ſolely and excluſively for public proſtitution.—If theſe were *annihilated*—if men were *taught to live within their means, and not by vying with ſuperior fortunes hurt their own, and thereby render a ſurrender of their character neceſſary to their unnatural and overgrown conſequence*—Parliament would ſoon again, without any *violation of public arrangement*, aſſume the appearance and the reality of integrity.

But on this part of the caſe there is another queſtion—Will the ſurrender enſure us a truly *incorruptible Legiſlature?*—I much fear not—Is the Britiſh Parliament, as it now ſtands, free from all the objections we make to our own?—Has the Miniſter there any *predominant intereſt* that

that makes his wiſhes amount to commands?—Is that an Aſſembly that conſiſts altogether of men who receive *nothing for their attendance?*—Is a ſeat there found ſo unprofitable as to require the payment of the wages which the primitive founders of our Conſtitution had appropriated for the maintenance and independence of their Repreſentatives? I fear not—I fear that the *Engliſh Legiſlature*, as well as *our own*, affords a national example, that power and emolument and prerogative have acquired, even among them, a means of aſcendancy over the minds of men, that no practicable ſyſtem of Reform is likely to repreſs, and that ſeeks the pruning hand of *economical correction*, and the *fundamental reſtorative of improved morality*, more than the *ſuperficial lenitive of ameliorated arrangement.*

If, then, my Lord, the grounds which are to render an Union palatable to this country, as founded in perſonal or religious ſecurity, are *problematical*, will not every deſcription of perſon look to his immediate ſituation?

And will your Lordſhip call on the *temporal Peerage* of this kingdom to ſurrender their *general conſequence* here, to the *inconſiderable ſhare* they can acquire in the Britiſh Parliament, for the *uncertain additional ſecurity* the alteration could enſure to the *already*, in my mind, *unqueſtionable* arrangement of property? Or what other conſideration have you to hold out?

Will

Will you call upon the *ſpiritual Peer* to vote his own *conſtitutional annihilation*, for the bare conſideration of exchanging a domeſtic and *participated* Legiſlature for a foreign and *excluded* one, in a kingdom where his conſequence is held inſeparable from an aſcendant Church Eſtabliſhment, and where every improvement his ſituation can aſpire to, is *within the reach of the Parliament of which he is a Member?* In truth, my Lord, a Caſtle advocate for the meaſure has, in a late Pamphlet on the ſubject, diſpoſed of their Lordſhips ſo very *curſorily*, that I ſee he deſpairs of their concurrence.

Does the moſt preſumptuous of thoſe that have acceſs to your Excellency's cloſet, dare to tell you that the *reſident, rational, unvitiated Iriſhman*, from motives of *perſonal inſecurity*, is inclined to diſcuſs the meaſure! Tell him if he does, his own alarm has clouded his powers of diſcernment—Tell him that the Iriſh character, though convinced the meaſure might prove *advantageous*, would deem the time ſuch, that in yielding to it, would *ſtamp* it irrevocably with *cowardice in the eyes of Europe*—Tell him, the Iriſh character, if he will weigh it for a century together, has not been remarked for a *proneneſs to ſubjugation*—Tell him this country, thro' that period, often called, and with ſturdy ſteadineſs gradually obtained, her preſent *imperial rank*—Tell him ſhe feels its eſſential conſequence, and *deprecates* the *ill-timed aggreſſion* upon it.

But,

But, my Lord, when I talk of Ireland as conſtitutionally reſiſting the ſurrender of the Legiſlature, I am the laſt man that would ſeek to render her an *incumbrance to Great Britain*.—Could the preſent agitation be moderated by wiſdom and ſound policy, I ſhould be happy to ſee it ſettle into a fœderal arrangement that would inſeparably cement the two iſlands—I would leave to Great Britain the excluſive privilege of providing for *every contingency* relating to the *Executive*—I would ſubject to her acquieſcence every *fundamental arrangement*, ſuch as Parliamentary Reform, Tithes, and the like—I would admit of a proportion of the national expenditure in point of defence, *liberal to the utmoſt extent of our means*, to be borne by this country—I would leave to Great Britain the power of making peace and war, ſolely and excluſively; theſe, my Lord, are *ſuperiorities* to which I think her entitled, but the mode of providing the taxes to meet ſuch expenditure, and the various and local appropriations thereof, I hold to be as ſolely and excluſively our own.

I have now told your Excellency what I feel to be the ſentiments of *this* country, and, I ſhould hope, enough to render your Excellency extremely averſe to any interpoſition that could tend to impoſe a meaſure of ſuch conſequence to us, without the moſt perfect and moſt ſatisfactory evidence, that it was fully deſired by a decided majority of my countrymen.—But, my Lord, I do not addreſs

dreſs you in the circumſcribed and bounded ſphere of *Iriſh politics*, you are an *Engliſhman*, *a Senator of Great Britain*, and, at this moment, the peculiar Delegate of him who is *King of both*; and could I, in ſuch a point of elevation, raiſe even a doubt in your Lordſhip's mind, that the perſecution of the *Iriſh* Loyaliſt was but ſubordinate to a ſcheme of *Britiſh* State manœuvre, and to a miniſterial ſubjugation of the *Britiſh* conſtitution, I ſhould hold that I had added very conſiderably indeed to the reaſon that ſhould produce in your Excellency, *caution*, *conſideration*, *and diſtruſt*.

That the meaſure of Union has long been a favorite with the *preſent Britiſh miniſter*, this country has had multiplied proofs. What elſe could lead to an univerſally promulgated opinion of his, "that an Union with this country was well "worth half a million to Great Britain, and "could, for that ſum, be readily purchaſed?" What elſe could induce him to *degrade our peerage*, by a public, avowed, and juſtified ſale? With what other view could he, in oppoſition to his general public tenets, here ſuffer to be publicly proclaimed, that *corruption was juſtifiable*, *nay neceſſary*, to carry on the government he had ſet over us? With what view, ſave to inflame the people, did his miniſter here ſend forth to the grand juries of this kingdom, their followers as foremen and principal jurors, to addreſs againſt the extenſion of catholic privilege—yet in the ſame year the ſame foremen and jurors, as ſenators, voted

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the increaſe of it? Why did he ſend Lord Fitzwilliam armed with powers to fulfil the awful meaſure of catholic participation, to hold it forth, and teach our kingdom either to *expect* or *dread* it, according to their reſpective feelings; then check it, and recommend its poſtponement "as the "greateſt ſervice that could be performed to the "empire, ſince the Union *," and then diſgrace Lord Fitzwilliam?—In honeſt ſincerity, I doubt your Lordſhip's belief as to my ſtatement, and I deprecate your indignation, when you aſk me—To what purpoſe could ſuch duplicity tend? What end could the general miniſter of the empire propoſe from ſuch unqualified depravity?—I anſwer, the facts are on record; the motive was *this very* UNION. The means of attaining it, the popular ferment ſo evidently the conſequence, and the diſunion between our people and our legiſlative—*but the grand and primary object was the ſubjugation of the Britiſh legiſlature, and the abſolute control of the empire.*

When a miniſter of equal diſcernment and acuteneſs with the preſent Britiſh premier, deſcends to countenance in his under-agents an *act*, or ſtill more a *ſyſtem* of diſſimulation and contradiction, his view is generally commenſurate with, if not much beyond, the extent of the means he employs. Embarked as the Britiſh miniſter is in the preſent conteſt, with his *fame and political exiſtence at ſtake*, 'tis, perhaps, with ſome degree of apology,

* See Lord Fitzwilliam's Letter to Lord Carliſle.

apology, that he adverts to almoſt *ſupernatural* means of continuing his ſchemes of finance, and of ſecuring a *deciſive ſupport to their arrangement and completion.* Gigantic and powerful as the reſources of Great Britain muſt be allowed to be, the accumulation of national debt has already cauſed the *preſſure of taxes* to be ſeverely felt by the *Britiſh nation*, nor does the conteſt afford any ſpeedy proſpect of termination! I would aſk you, my Lord, may not a miniſter, whoſe ambition and love of power are commenſurate with his talents, dread a moment when the *nation*, ſmarting under the oppreſſive burthen of further accumulated debt, may be inclined to *recoil* againſt him? May he not have it in contemplation to *avert that day*, by ſome grand financial ſcheme of which this country may be the victim? Or, may he not have it in contemplation to *ſilence the oppoſition* by that *extenſive and deciſive parliamentary majority*, which the addition of one hundred members devoted to him in the preſent aſſembly, would enſure? Does Scotland afford *one* member not devoted to his nod? Would Ireland?——A miniſter thus entrenched in the midſt of ſo *unalienable a majority*, would ſoon abſorb even the *monarch* in *himſelf*; the three eſtates of the kingdom would be ſwallowed up in his all powerful domination; there is no act of power ſo monſtrous, or ſo unconſtitutional, that he would not be able to reconcile to his parliamentary phalanx; the *balance of power in the*

government would be deſtroyed, and the Engliſh conſtitution but a name. And are you, my Lord, who have ſo powerfully promoted its glory, to become ancillary to its degradation and its danger? If you *are*, I can only ſay you have forgotten what you *were*.

The probability of our becoming victims to Mr. Pitt's plans of finance, ſhould, in my mind, operate very forcibly on this country. However, I have rather confined myſelf to the objections to the principle, than attempted to argue the detail: one thing, however, I muſt caution my country againſt, which is the promiſe held out of—a great increaſe of Engliſh capital. If I ſhould prove a true prophet, as to the future ſtate of this country after the Union, it will be ſuch, that ſhould any Engliſhman diveſt his property there, to inveſt it in ſpeculation here, he ought to be deprived of the command of it!

To carry a ſcheme ſo *old* in its *formation*, ſo *inſidious* in its *progreſs*, ſo *important* to its *founder*, ſo *deſtructive* to the *country to which it is conceded*, ſo *politically dangerous* to that from which it is to come, into full and perfect effect, to wind up a *ſeries* of *infamous deceptions* and *diſgraceful ſtate intrigues*, by the laſt act of arbitrary authority a miniſter of leſs *art* but of more *ingenuouſneſs* than the preſent, would have ſelected for his agent—a character ſimilar to his *job*. He would have looked for a man of ſtate intrigue, and political diſſimulation, who, by a life of diplomatic manœuvre

manœuvre, had eſtabliſhed the reputation of a *courtier*, without much of character for *manlineſs* and *integrity*. But, my Lord, the preſent Britiſh miniſter, whoſe lot it has been to diſgrace more *men of virtue* than any of his predeceſſors could ever effect, well knows the utility of *public confidence in his agent*, fondly deſires that under the ſhield of *his integrity* he may diſguiſe, and by a diminution of it transfer from *himſelf* a great part of the attendant odium; and with much cunning foretells, that the *unſuſpecting candour which a long life ſpent in the honourable exerciſe of arms muſt ever produce in an ingenuous mind*, may more eaſily become a prey to *duplicity*, while the abſence of *ſuſpicion* will *beget a readineſs to act*, till he has ſecured his *agent committed* to his ſchemes.—Then, my Lord, the *real actors* will withdraw, and, without remorſe, abandon *their victim* to public obloquy and confuſion.

Your Excellency arrived in this country in poſſeſſion of as *high public character* as any Nobleman in our ſiſter kingdom could boaſt; you are to govern us during a period of great agitation, and have ſubmitted to our diſcuſſion a ſubject of the laſt magnitude.—If the people tell you they have not *temper* to *diſcuſs* it, ſtifle it at the outſet —If they are prone to *diſcuſs* it, and on *diſcuſſion diſapprove*, proceed no farther—ſecure them the *means* of a *free* and *unbiaſſed enquiry*, and of *candid determination*—take their *ſentiments* from *themſelves*.——On theſe grounds, and on theſe alone, will depend the *wiſdom*, the *integrity of*

your

your decision—an event on which you haz[illegible]rd all your public glory, and in which, if you are deceived, you will cauſe the *cloſe* of your *political life* to obſcure the brilliance of its *meridian* with darkneſs and diſgrace.

Whatever event the diſcuſſion may lead to, I am prepared to ſubmit to; yet, my Lord, do not hope that an *appearance* of acquieſcence will enſure *real tranquillity*.—If the meaſure is ſtifled, I have no uneaſineſs for the proſperity of my country—If it is carried, I ſhall only lament, that by our crimes we muſt have offended the *Deity*, and that our *ill-fated land* is forbidden *peace*.—To *avert* the evil is the object of theſe obſervations—to *deprecate* it ſhould be the prayer of every

IRISHMAN.

FINIS.

UNION

OR

SEPARATION.

OF TWO EVILS, CHUSE THE LEAST.

By R. F.

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1798.

UNION, &c.

THE projected meaſure of an Union being a queſtion, which more than any other, involves the preſent tranquillity and future happineſs of Ireland, I think it incumbent on every man intereſted in the welfare of his country, to lay before his fellow citizens, thoſe conſiderations that have eſcaped the obſervation or have not been dwelt on as much as their importance deſerved, by thoſe who have already addreſſed the public upon the ſubject. Thoſe, who think they ought to diſplay ſpirit in reſiſting this meaſure, I would remind, that they may be determined without being intemperate, and that if they wiſh to oppoſe the meaſure with effect,—it is not by

 paſſion,

paſſion,—I am ſincere in intimating this hint, for whatever may be my own opinions on the ſubject,—it is my moſt fervent wiſh, that if the propoſed meaſure do not meet the approbation of the majority of the honeſt, diſintereſted, and thinking part of the community, that if not abandoned, it may be defeated; ſince otherwiſe this meaſure, however good in itſelf, muſt, in my opinion, be attended with incalculable miſchief.—It has been inſinuated by the enemies of an Union, and not contradicted by its friends, that the ſucceſs of the meaſure will depend much upon the animoſities and antipathy which one part of the people bear to another: In ſhort, it is ſaid, that the Catholics out of hatred and revenge to the Orange faction, will favour and forward this meaſure, or at leaſt, remain neutral upon the occaſion,—I do verily believe ſuch inſinuations to be utterly falſe, and groundleſs—I know the Catolic body, and from that knowledge I do confidently affirm, that they are incapable of being influenced by ſuch baſe, unworthy motives; I know the Catholics do not think, that the ſame thing can be for the diſadvantage of Ireland, and for the advantage of the Catholic—

lic—*that deluſion* is at an end—the Catholics muſt recollect, that they form the great majority of the nation, and therefore are more than any other body concerned to determine right upon a queſtion involving the deareſt, and moſt eſſential intereſt of their country—the faction, that has op[illegible]he Catholics, from its numbers, and its folly muſt be rather the object of pity, and contempt, than hatred, and revenge—the Catholics have been too long accuſtomed to miſrepreſentation to be at this time of day in the ſmalleſt degree affected by it—I do therefore reſt aſſured, that the Catholics deſpiſing on the one hand the foul imputations of inſidious illiberal men, and on the other ſpurning the unworthy, and diſcraceful ſuggeſtions of deſigning men their pretended friends, will not obſerve a criminal neutrality, but act upon this occaſion with a becoming dignity; in ſhort, that they will feel, and think on this buſineſs in a manner worthy of Iriſhmen—whether it is intended on this occaſion, to concede to the Catholics, the trifling favours that are ſtill withheld, I know not; but I would think it time idly ſpent, to demonſtrate to the Cotholics, that a thought of ſo trifling a nature ſhaould ſcarcely enter into their

conſideration upon this momentous queſtion—in addreſſing theſe my thoughts to the people of Ireland, I muſt of courſe be ſuppoſed to addreſs myſelf particularly, and chiefly to the Catholics, as compoſing the principal part of that people—therefore I ſhall not addreſs a word more, to them as a ſeparate diſtinct body.

There may be ſome impediment to a fair diſcuſſion of the merits of this queſtion from national pride, a feeling of this kind may have an influence upon Iriſhmen, who are ſuppoſed to be extremely partial, and attached to their native country—We may feel ourſelves hurt at the idea of Ireland being no longer conſidered an independent country—but ſurely this can weigh but little with my countrymen, when they ſeriouſly reflect,—how low, and degraded the name of Ireland at preſent is among all other nations, I appeal to thoſe, who have travelled moſt,—if they have not found, that to the name of Iriſhman, every thing deſpicable, and ridiculous is attached,—that with all mankind, the firſt impreſſion are againſt you, that a ſeries of uniform good conduct is neceſſary to wipe away the crime of your nativity—I would not inſult you by

by saying that, I think such opinions unjust, unfounded, and illiberal, knowing as I do, that you possess every quality that can adorn, or render respectable the human character, that you inhabit a country, that contains the seeds of national greatness, yes my countrymen—I have often thought of this, the thought has often cut me to the core—But it has left a deep rooted impression upon my mind, that a change is necessary in that system, which in my opinion, is the sole cause of our weakness, and disgrace,—I trust, those considerations will convince you that if we can satisfy our judgments, that any substantial benefits may be aquired by our acceding to the proposed measure of an Union,—that we are about to make no great sacrifice of feeling, or pride.

In discussing this question it strikes me, that there are three things we ought to keep steadily in our view, and never lose sight of; first, the state of our own country, secondly, that of the country we are going to unite with, and lastly, the state of the surrounding nations of Europe—With regard to the first, I do not think myself competent, nor do I feel it necessary here to decide,

who,

who, or what party, were the immediate cauſes of reducing the country to its preſent miſerable ſtate, it is not for me to ſay, at whoſe door, lies the blood of the thouſands of my brave unhappy countrymen, who periſhed in the late fruitleſs conteſt, "be that to themſelves, and their God, who ever they are—But I really think the leaſt benefit we can reap from this dear bought experience, is, that we ſhould derive an inſtructive leſſon,—that it may prove a warning calling aloud upon us to take precautionary, and preventative meaſures againſt the recurrence of ſimilar calamities.

I have heard a great deal ſaid about our political conſtitution, independent legiſlature, and many things of this nature, and that nothing ſhould induce us to ſurrender thoſe bleſſings—good God, how long are we to be amuſed, or rather abuſed with names and forms—You have experienced the full enjoyment of all thoſe boaſted bleſſings—You have taſted their fruits, and bitter enough, I believe you have found them—I will ſtate what enjoyments I wiſh to ſecure to you, and which in my opinion you have almoſt a certainty of ſecuring by an Union obtained upon

upon any thing of fair and liberal terms—they are, ſecurity for your lives, and perſons, ſecurity for your property,—ſecurity for the enjoyment of the fruits ariſing from exertions of honeſt induſtry—theſe are bleſſings, to which you have been long ſtrangers, and therefore ought to be the more capable of eſtimating their value.

I will tell you, how for ſome years paſt, your perſons have been ſecured—you have held your lives at the precarious tenure of the will of the informer, if you eſcaped his vigilence, you were ſtill liable to be torn from your homes, tranſported on board a tender—And this not by the verdict of your peers indifferently choſen, as required by the very firſt, and fundamental principles of the conſtitution we are ſaid to poſſeſs—no, but by the *fiat* of a few venal ignorant, prejudiced, tyrannical, petty magiſtrates; your perſons were further expoſed to the fury, and inſult of an unbridled, licentious ſoldiery—and as if this were not enough, for *the further protection* of your lives, and perſons,—a ſyſtem of torture, long abandoned in every civilized country for its inſufficiency, injuſtice, and barbarity, was revived, and its uſe generally adopted—

But

But if by any chance you eſcaped from thoſe legalized, indemnified, licenced violations of juſtice, law, and conſtitution, perhaps, that very thing,—*your ſo eſcaping* expoſed you to the ſuſpicion of another party, and rendered you in their eyes a fit object for proſcription, and marked you for the dagger of the aſſaſſin—In this ſituation what property had any man he could for a moment call his own? expoſed on one ſide to military extortion, military burnings, and military free quarters without redreſs, or any power to appeal to for relief, expoſed on the other to the midnight robber who come to raiſe contributions in the name, and for the good of the cauſe, while you were deterred from bringing thoſe offenders to juſtice, as you muſt be certain of adding loſs of life to loſs of property for ſo doing—it is unneceſſary for me to add, that in ſuch circumſtances, confidence, and credit totally fled mens' minds, without which the commerce, or trade of a nation cannot exiſt—it is not natural for man to make great exertions to acquire, or encreaſe property, when the poſſeſſion, or enjoyment, are inſecure, and uncertain in ſuch circumſtances every efficient ſpur to indury is deſtroyed—then I aſk you my countrymen

are

—are you ſo ennamoured with this order of things, that you will ſteadily oppoſe all change? have cuſtom, and habit, powerful, as I know they always are) ſo reconciled, and facinated you, that it would be painful to you now to change to a ſtate of peace, ſecurity, and tranquil repoſe? do you wiſh to perpetuate, diſturbance, diviſion, and inſurrection, and convert them into a laſting inheritance to bequeath to your poſterity? and if there be not a change, a ſpeedy change too, it will be the only inheritance you will have to leave them—whether I have exaggerated or not the plaineſt man will be competeut to determine—the thing I deſcribe is preſent, or too recent to admit of any miſrepreſentation—I do proteſt, I cannot conceive a wretch ſo venal, ſo callous to all the feelings of humanity, that could wiſh the country to remain another day in its preſent ſtate—it may be ſaid, that the ſituation I have deſcribed was accidental, and may never happen again, but I truſt to a be able to ſhew in the ſequel of theſe ſheets,—that we are not reduced to our preſent ſituation by accidental, or extraordinary circumſtances, but that it grew out of the ſyſtem under which we live, a ſyſ-

tem replete with every miſchief, which,—if not changed, will, and muſt produce calamities to to this country as great, and as diſmal, as any that have already happened—for the preſent I ſhall aſſume it as granted, that a change is neceſſary—abſolutely neceſſary to the ſalvation of the country—the queſtion then occurs,—what change is the moſt deſirable, the moſt attainable, and the moſt ſuited to the ſituation, the exiſting circumſtances, and exigencies of the country?

There are three kinds of change in the contemplation of the different parties, which at preſent divide the people of this diſtracted country, namely, firſt a ſeparation, ſecondly Britiſh connexion with a reformed legiſlature, and thirdly an Union—I ſhall now conſider them ſeparately, and diſtinctly, and firſt of a change by ſeparation—it is perfectly clear, that while the Britiſh Empire ſtands, Ireland ſeparating herſelf, and eſtabliſhing a complete independence by meaus of her own ſtrength, and by her own exertions, unaided, and unaſſiſted by foreign power is an idea ſo wild, aad extravagant, that it could ſcarcely enter into the conception of the moſt viſionary, enthuſiaſtic, diſ-

ordered

ordered imagination—if the meaſure be attainable, it muſt be by calling in foreign aid, and as things are ſituated, it is to France alone we could look for ſuccour on ſuch an occaſion—let us now ſee, what ſucceſs is likely to attend the attempts of France to invade this country, and the attempts of thoſe who invited and would join the invaders: to determine this, we ſhould conſider, how the two rival nations at preſent ſtand with regard to each other—France, with a ſhattered marine, her ports blockaded, and the growing diſcontents of her people, the government to ſay the leaſt not upon a very ſtable foundation—England on the other hand poſſeſſed of a navy ſuch as the world never ſaw before, which rides triumphant over all the ſeas, as far as winds blow, or waters roll, with 400,000 men in her pay at this moment, not for the defence of England alone, but for the defence, ſecurity, protection, and preſervation of every part of the Empire, valuing the connection as dearly, as England does, and ought and eſtimating Ireland, as the faireſt, and moſt valuable jewel in the imperial diadem, depend upon it, ſooner than ſee Ireland wreſted from her ſhe would ſpend the laſt guinea ſhe

had, and ſpill the laſt drop of her blood in reſiſting the attempt;—to any man who reflects a moment upon the preſent ſituation of England, and the preſent ſituation of Europe, it muſt appear certain beyond the poſſibility of doubt, that before a ſeparation could be accompliſhed, Ireland ſhould be the theatre of the bloodieſt ſtruggle between the two greateſt nations on earth—before ſuch an event can happen, in Ireland muſt the ſun of Britiſh glory ſet for ever—the Britiſh lion muſt periſh in the laſt dyke of Ireland—theſe are the events, that muſt precede the ſeparation of England from Ireland,—but ſuppoſing a ſeparation under the auſpices of France feaſible, and accompliſhed.—It is certainly a fair queſtion, to aſk, what are expected to be the fruits of this hard fought conteſt?—Can we anſwer this queſtion more fairly, than by looking at thoſe countries, where France has extended her aid, or interference?—that once happy country of Switzerland, where the French were invited, and aided by ſome of its deluded unhappy people, the peaceable, unoffending Swiſs can tell, whether the anxious care, and object of French policy be not to extend French dominion, and in attaining this

how

how little the welfare, or happineſs of any people are conſidered,—Holland too, when at the pinnacle of commercial greatneſs, and national pre-eminence, in the courſe of a few months, her name was almoſt eraſed from the liſt of nations,—and this by the all blighting contagion of French connexion—if ſuch be the preſent diſpoſition, and object of France can it be contended, that contrary to the order of nature, her ambition will become ſatiated, her luſt of dominion diminiſh, and decreaſe, as ſhe becomes more powerful, and ſucceſsful, *when* ſhe ſees her ancient, and formidable rival proſtrate in the duſt, when every ſhadow of reſiſtance to her will muſt be abandoned, when ſhe becomes like ancient Rome, the model which ſhe ſeems to ſet up for herſelf, the miſtreſs and ſupreme arbitreſs of the world.—I wiſh my Countrymen to weigh well, how *barely poſſible* under exiſting circumſtances a ſeparation muſt be, and if to be attained, that it muſt be by wading through rivers of blood, that they muſt be prepared to endure the moſt unparrelled ſufferings, and calamities before it can be accompliſhed, and above all to conſider well how doubtful muſt the advantages of ſuch a meaſure, not

to

to themſelves but even to their lateſt poſterity. This is a caſe fully open to the judgment, and deciſion of any man of plain, unſophiſticated reaſon—I am aware that there are men of abilities will tell you—this is all chimera.—That they could point out ſuch precautionary meaſures, as would prevent the ſame thing happening in Ireland, which has regularly, and uniformly happened in every country, which has had the misfortune to receive the aſſiſtance and interference of France.—By their ingenuity they may deceive you, but they muſt be men of very ſanguine diſpoſitions to be deceived themſelves, and callous as are ſuppoſed to be the diſpoſitions of theſe Philoſophers, who in their phyſical experiments torture a brute animal, far more ſo muſt be the diſpoſitions of men, who are content to try political experiments at the certain expence of the fortune, and lives of thouſands of their fellow countrymen—But altho' I think France cannot ſend here any efficient, and effectual force to accompliſh a ſeperation, yet it is certain that during the continuance of the war, and how long it may continue the wiſeſt man cannot ſay; French

Frigates

Frigates whenever they can elude the vigilance of the Engliſh Fleets, and wafted by a favourable gale will viſit our ſhores from time to time, and debark upon our coaſts.

It is as certain that many of our diſcontented countrymen,—and diſcontented they muſt be as long as the preſent ſyſtem continues will repair to the ſtandard of the invader; *then* again Iriſhman will be engaged againſt Iriſhman, and after the invader has made ſome progreſs, and done much miſchief, he will ſurrender; and nothing remain to be done unleſs to doom thoſe of my unhappy countrymen who joined the invader and have not fallen in the field, either to the Gibbet or the Tender;—thus the Tragedy you have ſeen acted not many weeks ago you will ſee repeated and repreſented again and again.—For the French conceive this kingdom to be a vulnerable point in their antagoniſts ſide; they have men enough to ſpare, whoſe lives they little regard, as it is certain they think more of the capture of one of their moſt inſignificant Sloops of War, than they do of the anhihilation of an entire Regiment,—and

this

this by the by ought to teach us, that if they think ſo little of the fate of their own people, it is not reaſonable to expect they ſhould think much of ours;—indeed all hiſtory will ſhew us how little in ſimilar circumſtances one nation can depend upon the faith of another, even in a very recent inſtance the unhappy inſurgents in La Vendee ſay that they did not receive that aſſiſtance, and co-operation they were led to expect from England; the fate of the unhappy Emigrants in the Quiberon expedition is too recent, and too melancholy to make it neceſſary for me to dwell upon—At preſent the brave the honeſt Brabanters who but four years ago received the French with open arms as their deliverers from the yoke of Auſtria, now galled by the yoke, and goaded by the Tyranny of France, have riſen in rebellion and inſurrection; of courſe according to the uſual policy purſued by contending nations they are encouraged and promiſed aid and aſſiſtance from the powers at war with France;—I believe they will find themſelves deceived they will not receive any effectual aſſiſtance, and I believe that after throwing away their lives and diſplaying a

courage

courage, and bravery worthy of ſucceſs; they will be ſacrificed, and cruſhed by the power of France.

But while we remain in ſuſpence, and doubtful anxious expectation of a French invaſion, in the proſpect of a ſeparation, what treatment are we to expect from England, to whoſe power we certainly muſt lie expoſed? conſider—the people of England are engaged almoſt with unanimity in a war carried on with the greateſt animoſity, and deadly hatred againſt an enemy, whom they conceive to aim at their happineſs, and that of all Europe,—while then England believes the people of this country are allied to that enemy in principle, and are engaged to deliver up the country to him, can it naturally be expected from her, that ſhe ſhould have ears for Iriſh complaint, or feelings for Iriſh ſuffering?—no,—ſhe will treat Ireland as a conquered country—as a country tenable but by force, ſhe will rule Ireland with a rod of iron. And it is to be remembered,—that while England keeps this country from the graſp of France, while ſhe can draw from Ireland the uſual ſupply of

men to recruit her Armies, and man her fleets, England may go on, and flouriſh,—and this ſhe may do; although Ireland at the ſame time be hurrying on with accelerating force to the profoundeſt depths of miſery, and deſolation.

I now come to the ſecond kind of change which I ſuppoſe to be in the contemplation of many people that oppoſe an Union,—this is to preſerve the preſent connection with England, and ſeek by peaceable, and legal means a reform, as the remedy for all our ills, and complaints; this is a meaſure, that wears ſo fair an aſpect, and is in general entertained by men of ſo much reſpectability, and ſo pure intentions, that I think the meaſure deſerves conſideration more from the reſpectability of the quarter it comes recommended from, than any thing in itſelf; men in their zeal for an object ſo fair ſeem to have overlooked the difficulty of its attainment, the friends and well wiſhers of this change, ground their hopes upon this, that the Britiſh Government will now grow wiſe from what is paſt,—that they will ſee the impolicy

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of the ſyſtem hitherto purſued, and now begin to concede to the wiſhes and conciliate the affections of the people of Ireland; this is plauſible, and what I myſelf think would be wiſe and juſt in the government of England but I am not now to take into my conſideration what I think would be wiſe in them to do, but if they are likely ſo to do; now every inducement, every argument that is now uſed, or can be uſed for this purpoſe applied with tenfold force at different periods ſince the commencement of the preſent war, at a time when England was diſcomfited in all her projects, in the hour of her diſtreſs, and in the days of her adverſity, when her enemy was in the full career of conqueſt unchecked, and almoſt unoppoſed, threatening moſt ſeriouſly the overthrow of every government in Europe, at a time too when the people of England were much divided, when in Ireland a moſt formidable conſpiracy had reared its head, and was rapidly gaining ground, at that time the Britiſh Miniſter was told,—what madneſs not to unite all the people of Ireland in the common cauſe againſt the common enemy; this warning came from the pro-

phetic voice, and was urged with the zeal, and ability of a Burke, that prodigy of genius and ornament of his country; yet under all theſe awful menacing circumſtances, we ſee that not one of thoſe adviſed ſteps to conciliate the people of Ireland was purſued;—the Empire is ſtill governed by the ſame men and the ſame counſels, and in the name of good ſenſe what well grounded expectation can now be entertained, (except we ſuppoſe the courſe of nature changed) that at this day when the enemy is checked and humbled, when England is flushed with ſucceſs after a ſeries of victory, and after a rebellion in Ireland cruſhed, that ſhe will in the hour of triumph become wiſe, and learn moderation from proſperity, and therefore be now more eaſily induced, or more eaſily terrified to compliance with our wiſhes and demands?—no, no, it is an idle groundleſs expectation.

By a reform is I ſuppoſe generally meant a reform in the commons houſe of Parliament, that the people ſhould have a full, and adequate repreſentation, that is, to extend, and encreaſe the democratic part of the conſtitution; any other kind of reform would be abortive, and not

worth

worth conſidering—now, if there were wanting an argument to ſhew, how impracticable, and unattainable ſuch a meaſure is, however deſirable it muſt be, conſider, that in England ſuch reform had long been the favourite meaſure of the moſt reſpectable part of the community, and the darling object of the bulk of the people, and that now every idea of it is abandoned, except by a party more zealous, than numerous, or reſpectable, the miniſter has ſatisfied the people of England, that this would be a dangerous time to attempt any material alteration in the frame of the Legiſlature—It is the leading principle, the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of the preſent adminiſtration to reſiſt all ſuch attempts to reform—now if the miniſter ſhould be induced to yield to the wiſhes of the people of Ireland in this reſpect, and grant a reform in parliament—with what face? with what conſiſtency could he afterwards, ſtand up in his place, and oppoſe reform in England, when he might well be aſked? what objection can you have now to reform—will you ſay, this is a time for reform in Ireland,—where the people are greatly diſaffected,—where they have had ſcarce time

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to take breath ſince the ſuppreſſion of rebellion, and will you ſay now, that it is not a time for reform in England, where the people are beyond example, United in the defence of their king, and country? or he might be aſked, did he think the people of Ireland more enlightened, than the people of England, more advanced in civilization, and therefore fitter to enjoy the bleſſings of a free conſtitution, and to exerciſe the rights of a free people? it is too abſurd, to think, that while the connection laſts with England, reform in Ireland can ever precede reform in England, to require me to add another word upon the ſubject.

There now remains according to the order, and diviſion I laid down to myſelf, the propoſed meaſure of an Union—which at preſent engages the attention of the people of Ireland; that this is attainable, there is little doubt, that it is the only efficient, beneficial change, that is ſo, I have myſelf as little doubt—the queſtion comes to this—ſhall we remain as we are, or ſhall we embrace the offer of an Union?—in thinking that a change is neceſſary,

ſary,—that opinion is not founded merely upon the conſideration of the preſent ſtate of the country, or of any recent occurrences, my opinion is grounded upon a conviction; that the ſyſtem under which we live is radically bad, that the connection that now exiſts, and always has exiſted between the two countries, is the moſt abſurd, the moſt miſchievous, that ever ſubſiſted between any two countries—the firſt law of the connexion is, that the Crown of Ireland is for ever annexed to the imperial Crown of England; that whoever may happen to be king of England, is ipſo facto king of Ireland—thus independent Ireland has no power to chuſe her own king, nay nor to retain her own king only during the pleaſure of the people of another country—would to God, this kind of independence had only proved abſurd in theory, but the miſchief is fully equal to the abſurdity of the connexion—In the laſt century when the Parliament raiſed the ſtandard of rebellion againſt their Sovereign Charles, the native Iriſh remained ſteady in their loyalty to the throne, and attachment to the perſon of their king, and for that loyalty they experienced the moſt cruel perſecution from the uſurper Cromwell, or rather the de facto

facto king of England—before the close of the same century, and before that generation, which had suffered so much for their loyalty to their sovereign, had passed away, the Irish were once more to experience the mischief of the unhappy connection—the English Parliament dethroned King James, but he was still enthroned in the hearts of his Irish subjects, they displayed their usual fidelity, which has so distinguished the Irish character in the page of history, for which as before, they paid most dearly, and underwent almost a century of suffering, and persecution,—but the sad tale is too generally known, too deeply impressed on the minds of Irishmen to render it necessary for me to dwell on; so that a person is almost tempted on first consideration, to conclude, that the unhappy Irish, be they loyal, or be they disloyal are doomed by providence to misery, and suffering,—but a little reflection will satisfy us, that it naturally, and necessarily arises out of the system under which we live, out of thisvery independent connection, for the continuance, and perpetuation of which, we are gravely told; it would be wise; it would be patriotic to shed the blood of the country,—that country, which has already bled at every pore

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—the regency buſineſs is within the recollection of almoſt every perſon, another proof of the abſurdity, and which was likely to have proved fully the miſchief alſo of the preſent connection—if I wanted further proof of the abſurdity, and miſchief of the preſent connection, I need only call to mind, what paſſed the other day, when it was propoſed to the Britiſh Parliament, to take the ſtate of Ireland into their conſideration, and to enquire into the cauſes of the diſcontents, and grievances of the people—the miniſters told the Britiſh Parliament, that they had no power to interfere, that Ireland had a free and independent Parliament of her own, which was alone competent to legiſlate for Ireland, and to determine the propoſed queſtion.—Thus was an inſurmountable barrier raiſed out of our own independent connexion againſt all relief, or even enquiry into our complaints—thus was inſult added to injury by this mockery of Iriſh independence—by this, it is now proved that under the preſent connection, the Britiſh miniſter, whoſe councils muſt ever ſway Ireland, may commit the moſt flagitious acts of oppreſſion, and cruelty towards the people of this country with

impunity, with the moſt perfect ſecurity, for beyond the reach of the Iriſh Parliament he is certainly placed, and the Britiſh, never can call him to account for any act of mal-adminiſtration in Ireland, *as* that would be a violation of the connection, and of the independence of the Iriſh Parliament—thus we have governers without reſponſibility—no governor of ours has to dread an impeachment, like the ſucceſſors of Warren Haſtings;—even the redreſs, which the wretched natives of Indoſtan were held entitled to, muſt under our preſent connection be withheld from the people of free, and independent Ireland—Under our preſent connection we are expoſed in the fulleſt manner to Britiſh oppreſſion, but we are excluded from Britiſh protection; again I repeat it, the ſyſtem is radically bad—it muſt be changed—look to the hiſtory of this connection, in every page you will ſee the diſmal, balefull effects of this wretched ſyſtem written in characters of blood, filled with diſtraction, and diviſion, a ſeries of inſurrections under various ſhapes, and denominations—under the preſent connection, it has almoſt became a maxim in political ſcience, that inſurrections are periodical, and return at ſtated intervals, and that a good politi-

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cian can calculate the happening of an insurrection in Ireland, with as much certainty, as an astronomer can the occurrence of an eclipse, or any other phenomenon of nature—These events which I have just stated as marking the history of our connection, are undeniable, and within the knowledge of almost every man;—in further detail of this wretched system; I have heard from men of experience and more than common observation; that it has happened, that a certain powerful lord, having fallen out with the ministry about the sale of his interest, and influence, repaired to the country, where his influence lay, in the south, and by agents there, represented to the peasantry the hardships they laboured under, tythes in particular, and that the best way of obtaining relief would be by insurrection; those representations had the desired effect, the wretched peasantry rose with fury under the name of White Boys, and other such denominations—the noble lord then returned in triumph to the seat of government, and obtained the terms he sought for, on promise of lending his aid in suppression of those disturbances which he himself had excited—and after shooting the deluded victims of his own treachery—

tranquillity was for the time reſtored—I have heard alſo, that at another time, a certain other great lord in the oppoſite quarter of the kingdom, in the North, by fomenting, and working on the prejudices of the people, engaged them in a religious war, *and ſo* deluged a province with blood, and oveaſpread it with devaſtation: I will not believe, I will not entertain for a moment the idea, that this event happened in compliance with the wiſhes, or by the contrivance, or permiſſion of government, neither will I ſay, thoſe things did happen exactly in the ſame manner, in which I have heard them; but it is enough that ſuch a thing was feaſible, and practicable to make every friend of humanity, and his country wiſh, and endeavour, to reſcue a people from ſuch a ſtate of miſery, and debaſement; I have heard it ſaid, that it argued great ability, and addreſs in the leaders of the late unhappy rebellion to engage the lower orders of the people in their cauſe ſo generally, ſo warmly, and ſo zealouſly; but whoever would be at the trouble to make themſelves acquainted with the peaſantry of Ireland, and their diſpoſitions; would be ſatisfied, that it required neither ability, nor addreſs in their preſent ſtate to excite them to inſurrection; though

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it requires a deal of both to appeaſe, and keep them in any kind of tranquillity—While the preſent ſyſtem laſts, it will ever be in the power of the moſt bungling incendiaries without principle, or abilities, and with the moſt abandoned, deſperate views, to excite the bulk of the people of this nation to inſurrection, and rebellion—let any man reflect upon this, and ſay afterwards, no change is requiſite—I cannot help thinking there is a great analogy between the ſtate of the maſs of the people of this country, and that of the people of moſt of the nations of Europe, while they continued under a feudal ariſtocracy—the bulk of the people under both ſyſtems, I find equally wretched; under both ſyſtems there is little to be found but the extremes of ſplendor and miſery; tyranny, and ſlavery; the wretched people under that ſyſtem, as under our own, often threw away their lives in fruitleſs inſurrections, which were often encouraged, and as often ſuppreſſed by the ariſtocracy—at length the people were relieved from this moſt miſerable of all governments, this moſt oppreſſive of all ſyſtems; and found peace, and ſecurity under abſolute monarchy; now though the change they made, was not to the beſt form of government, that

human

human invention could deviſe, yet it was the only beneficial change they could obtain, and perhaps the one beſt ſuited to their condition, and ſtate—and certain it is, it was a happy, happy change to the people, which ſaved them centuries of ſuffering miſery, and oppreſſion; now I do not ſay, that an incorporation with England, is that kind of ſtate I ſhould wiſh Ireland to enter into under any circumſtances, or that it is that ſtate, by which, I think, ſhe is likely to attain that degree of national ſplendour, and greatneſs of which ſhe is capable, or for which ſhe may be deſigned by nature; *far from it*, but upon the moſt extenſive view of our ſituation, and all circumſtances attending it, I ſincerely think that it is the only attainable, beneficial change we can look for; a change, under which the oppreſſed, harraſſed, fatigued people of Ireland may find repoſe—and I confeſs, I do not feel myſelf ſo far impelled by that zeal for theoretic, or ſpeculative ſyſtems, that I can bring myſelf entirely to overlook every circumſtance, that may oppoſe their practicability.

The fate of St. Domingo ought to be a warning, ought to afford an awful, and inſtructive

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leſſon to all reformers, to conſider well the ſtate of a people, their knowledge, their diſpoſitions; to conſider what amelioration of their condition is ſuited to their ſtate, what change they are beſt fitted to receive:—the change propoſed to us is no violent change, it is no revolution, it is not like the Union of two countries, which have heretofore been ſtrangers to each other, it is the Union of two countries long, and cloſely connected—it is the Union of the people of two countries, who have been ſubjects of the ſame king, who have a perfect ſimilarity in language, in cuſtoms, in conſtitution, and in laws: to attain a ſimilarity in the two laſt has long been the object, and ſtruggle of the moſt exalted patriots of this country, they have obtained them in name, and in form, now let us take them in practice, and in ſubſtance—If we were on a ſudden to have laws introduced by this change, foreign, and diſcordant to our laws, and cuſtoms I declare, though I ſhould be convinced they were far ſuperior to our own, I ſhould the firſt to oppoſe ſuch a change—of all the injuries, that have been committed towards the people of India, I do not think, there was one ſo cruel, as the attempt to impoſe upon them the

laws

the laws of England in violation of their laws, their cuſtoms, and even of their prejudices;—far leſs violent is the change propoſed to us than the change effected in the ſtate, and condition of the people of Brabant, and thoſe people of Italy, who have been incorporated with the French Republic, for they were long under laws, cuſtoms and prejudices peculiar to themſelves, totally different, and almoſt abhorrent from thoſe of the nation they were United to.

There is an objection to an Union, which appears to me fair, and which I feel to have conſiderable weight; it is, that we will ſubject ourſelves to the burthen of thoſe heavy taxes, which England labours under.—The anſwer I give to this, is, that our ſtrength under an Union will encreaſe, and become equal to the encreaſed weight, and preſſure, for when our commerce becomes unreſtrained, our trade unſhackled, when our laws ſhall be ſteadily executed, and purely adminiſtered, when we ſhall enjoy in ſubſtance, and in practice the ſame conſtitution, and enjoy equal law, and equal rights with England, and poſſeſſed as Ireland is in proportion of greater

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natural ſources of wealth, How does it follow, that under ſuch a change, we ſhould not be able to contribute our ſhare of taxes to the revenue of the Empire? and great as the taxes will then be, I do not ſee how they can much exceed the expences of the preſent defective ſyſtem, between what we pay in foreign tribute, and domeſtic exactions—But what is worth a volume of abſtract reaſoning—we have the moſt convincing proofs drawn from arguments of experience—we ſee that Wales, a country to which nature has dealt her gifts, and her bounty, with rather a ſparing hand—we ſee that Wales incorporated with England *is happy*, and that ſhe bears her proportion of the ſame burthenſome taxes with England—we ſee that Scotland by the Union, ſubjected herſelf to her proportion of the taxes of England, and yet we do not hear that the people of Scotland complain of any particular grievance in this reſpect.—And ſurely in diſcuſſing the merits of this queſtion, it is fair to call to mind the benefits, that have flowed from the Union to Scotland, a country which from the ſterility of its ſoil, and its ungenial clime, has been ſaid to be the droſs of the earth; that at the time of its Union

with England, it was torn, and diſtracted with diſſenſion, and diviſion; that after the Union, its wounds began to heal, peace, and tranquillity viſited the land; the people acquired habits of induſtry, a ſpirit of order, and obedience to the laws. Scotland became the land of ſcience, and attained a name high in the republic of letters.—Scotland was not intended by nature to be a wealthy nation, but ſince, and only ſince the Union, ſhe enjoys, what in my mind is preferable to great wealth, *That happy, enviable ſtate, in which the loweſt peaſant may eat his humble meal in peace, and ſleep in ſecurity.* That ſtate with which ill-fated Ireland has never yet been bleſſed with.—That our commerce will be improved, and extended by an Union, is an opinion ſanctioned, and proved by the oppoſition, that has ever been ſhewn, and is now expected to be given to the meaſure by the merchants of England, a body ſuppoſed to be guided by their own intereſt, as much as any other ſet of men, and certainly poſſeſſed of as much knowledge, and information, on this ſubject—they are of opinion, that by an Union, the commerce of Ireland

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muſt proſper at the expence of that of England. How can it be otherwiſe?—Shall we not receive that conſtitution, to the enjoyment of which England owes all her commercial greatneſs, ſplendour, power, and glory?—It is not to extent of territory, it is not to extent of population, that ſhe owes her unprecedented commerce, a commerce co-extenſive with the known world, nor to ſuperior fertility of ſoil, but to the tranquillity, liberty, freedom, and law ſecured to her by her unrivalled conſtitution. A great deal has been ſaid about the natural advantages of Ireland, and with juſtice, but *there are* various parts of Africa poſſeſſed of equal, if not greater natural advantages, both from relative ſituation, placed as it were in the centre of the globe and internal capacities for extenſive commerce, but for want of a ſtable, regular, efficient government all thoſe advantages lie neglected, juſt as thoſe of Ireland do, and while our preſent ſyſtem continues without a change, they will lie dormant and unimproved till doomſday.—There are many minute objections which may be ſtarted to the meaſure of an Union, ſome I

am aware of, and think could readily be obviated, but their introduction and refutation would only tend to perplex the diſcuſſion.—It is a great queſtion, having I think many powerful arguments for its ſupport, It ought therefore to be diſcuſſed, and combated on the broadeſt principles of reaſoning; and petty objections, and cavil ſhould not be admitted.

The meaſure, I underſtand has met ſome early, and warm oppoſition, part of this oppoſition has proceeded from the Bar—a profeſſion which I look to with the greateſt reſpect, for which I am myſelf an humble candidate.—This body have declared, that an Union would be a dangerous innovation.—I have ventured to declare my opinion to the contrary, and have given my reaſons, ſuch as they are, for ſo doing.—It was with difficulty, and deference I could bring myſelf to diſſent from ſo reſpectable a body.—But I felt this too important a queſtion for any man to ſurrender his judgment, or yield to the authority of any ſet of men, be they ever ſo reſpectable.—In what they have done,

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I do believe them ſincere, that they were actuated at *leaſt* by an honeſt zeal, and by pure motives.—It has been inſinuated, that they were influenced by the ſuppoſed intereſts of the profeſſion, I cannot believe, that ſuch a liberal body could be influenced by any ſordid views, or actuated by any petty motives, upon a queſtion involving the deareſt intereſts of their country, and the happineſs of generations to come—beſides, whoever ſuppoſes the intereſts of the profeſſion to be in danger, I conceive to lie under a great miſtake. It is certain the profeſſion exiſts but with commerce, and muſt proſper, and flouriſh, as commerce proſpers and flouriſhes.—The views of parliamentary lawyers, of petty politicians will be blaſted by an Union—the road to the bench will no longer lie through the Houſe of Commons, but preferment will then be the reward of the exertions of genius, talents, and induſtry, and I cannot conceive, how any honourable man, whatever might be his fate, would wiſh to ſucceed by any other means.

I am now drawing to the concluſion of theſe pages, and I have been for ſome time reflecting

ing upon the ſtate of theſe countries in Europe, which are ſuppoſed, to ſuffer under the worſt, and moſt deſpotic government.—Poland of courſe has fallen within the ſcope of my contemplation, and enquiry, but there I find, though the people are in a ſtate of vaſſalage, yet their proprietors, and lords are found to take the ſame care of them, that they do of their cattle, or any other kind of property.—My thoughts then turned to Turkey, and I am not ſure, whether the wretched Greek under the Turkiſh Empire, has a greater chance for happineſs, than the Iriſh peaſant, but, from all the information I poſſeſs upon the ſubject, the moſt ſerious, and deliberate opinion I can form, is, that the Mahometan, under the Turkiſh government has a government more calculated to promote his happineſs (as far as the happineſs of man can be influenced by the government under which he lives) than the maſs of the people of Ireland have, or in my opinion, can have under the preſent ſyſtem, and with the prefent connection; and I think the Turkiſh Divan is better framed, and more concerned to conſult the happineſs, and promote the welfare of the people, than any Iriſh parliament, that can rationally

tionally be expected during the exiſtence of the preſent connection, modelled as it is, and has been, with Great Britain.

That this country has been dealt with harſhly, and ſeverely by England cannot be denied; that England has treated Ireland as badly, as other nations generally have done thoſe countries, which were ſimilarly ſubjected to their power, is likewiſe undeniable. It has been ſaid, that it was the policy of England to reduce us to our preſent ſtate, in order to force us to yield, and accept an Union; if it be ſo, we ought to remember, that ſhe has ſtill the ſame power, and ſhe may ſtill have the ſame inclination to purſue the ſame policy.—And in the name of God, are we to wait till we are reduced to the loweſt ebb of miſery, and diſtreſs, before we are induced to accept the olive branch of peace? No, this is the time of all others, in which an Union is moſt ſeaſonable, and moſt neceſſary;—from the commencement of the connection with England to this hour the country never required a change more, than it does at preſent, and certainly there never was a time, when

when England would give us an Union upon ſuch fair, and liberal terms, terms ſo beneficial to this country.—This is an auſpicious moment for ſuch a meaſure, we ought not reject it.—I ſhall now conclude with a remark which has often of late been miſapplied, but if ever it applies, it muſt be on the preſent occaſion "We may be better,—We cannot be "worſe."

FINIS.

PROCEEDINGS

AT A

MEETING

OF THE

BANKERS AND MERCHANTS,

OF

DUBLIN,

CONVENED BY THE

Right Hon. the LORD MAYOR,

On Tuesday—December, 18th—1798,

FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONSIDERING THE SUBJECT OF AN

UNION.

DUBLIN:

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1798.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD MAYOR.

My Lord,

YOU are requeſted to call a Meeting of the Bankers and Merchants of this City, as ſoon as convenient, to take into conſideration a meaſure of the "*utmoſt importance* to this kingdom.

Dublin, 10th December, 1798.

Peter Latouche,
Wm. Digges Latouche,
Thos. Lighton and Co.
Joſeph Lynam,
John Geale,
J. C. Bereaford,
James Farrell,
Jer. D'Olier,
Arthur Staaley,
Wm. Rawlins,
John Patrick,
John Stewart,
Wm. S. Magee,
Hugh Crothers,
George Adamſon,
Wm. Colville, jun.
Benjamin Gault,
Wm. Duncan,
Wm. Maxwell,
Ephraim Hutchiſon,
P. D. Latouche.

As I have been favoured with a Requiſition for calling a meeting of the Bankers and Merchants of this City, "to take into conſideration a Meaſure of the utmoſt importance to this Kingdom," from the reſpectability of the ſignature to it, I cannot for a moment heſitate to accede to their wiſhes, and do therefore requeſt the attendance of the Bankers and Merchants at the Manſion-houſe, on Tueſday the 18th inſt. at one o'Clock.

THOMAS ANDREWS, *Lord Mayor.*

Manſion-Houſe,
Monday, Dec. 10, 1798.

MEETING

OF THE

BANKERS AND MERCHANTS

ON THE

SUBJECT

OF A

UNION.

TUESDAY, December, 18th, purſuant to requiſition, the Bankers and Merchants of the city of DUBLIN met, at the Manſion-houſe, for the purpoſe of taking into conſideration the reported project of a Legiſlative *Union* between Great Britain and Ireland. The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor having taken the Chair—WM. DIGGES LATOUCHE, Eſq. opened the buſineſs of the Meeting, nearly in the following manner, viz.:

MY LORD,

I have much ſatisfaction in perceiving that the public feeling is ſo much alive to the public intereſt, and that the aſſemblage here this day is numerous and reſpectable in proportion as the ſubject which is about to engage them is awful and important. On that ſubject I beg leave to offer my ſentiments in as brief a manner as I can, and in a caſe where private and public intereſt, national pride and national advantage combine ſo ſtrongly againſt calm and temperate diſcuſſion, I hope I ſhall ſucceed in my efforts to treat of the ſubject on which we are met, as a queſtion of reaſon and not of paſſion.

For ſome time back, the ſound of a Legiſlative Union between this country and Great Britain had buzzed upon the public ear, but was deſervedly conſidered as an idle ſound, meaning nothing, until it gained a diſtinction and audibility of expreſſion which would have rendered public ſilence on the ſubject equally fooliſh and criminal.——A pamphlet entitled, " Arguments for and Againſt an Union" generally aſcribed to an official public character in the Government of this country, has excited the moſt ſerious alarm in the public mind; and that a Union has ſome foundation in the intentions of Power is moſt probable, when we conſider that no attempt has been made by Government to diſavow that intention, or to reſtore that degree

degree of tranquillity to which the country had attained in ſpight of the cruel diviſions and conflicts by which it had been ſo recently torn.

My Lord, I have too much reſpect for the feelings of my auditory to deſcend to any notice of ſuch a jumble of political fallacy and inſolence as the pamphlet I have alluded to, if it was not generally conſidered as the precurſor of a more ſerious and momentous diſcuſſion of the ſubject.—To benefit our commerce, to allay our diſcontents, and to ſtrengthen the Empire, are the three principal arguments, which, on preſumed grounds, the author urges to induce Iriſhmen to relinquiſh their independence. Theſe, at leaſt, are the features of this work, which you can look on with leaſt indignation and diſguſt, and unwilling to call in any auxiliary matter of irritation on a ſubject having ſo much in itſelf, I refrain from calling your attention to thoſe parts of this reputed Court pamphlet, where inſult the moſt groſs and unqualified againſt the people of Ireland, is wholly ſubſtituted for argument. [*A loud and general cry of hear! hear!*] My Lord, we are told that our commerce would be benefitted by a Union:—poſſeſſed as we are of advantages in trade, which are certain, prominent, and multiplying, I might perhaps be excuſed from offering a ſingle word in anſwer to a mere aſſertion, holding out obſcure and doubtful proſpects. But how is our commerce to be

be benefitted? Is it by yielding all controul over it into the hands of another country? Is it by relinquiſhing for ever a national Legiſlature moſt naturally and immediately intereſted in national proſperity? [*A loud and repeated cry of hear!*] Is it to be an increaſe of our Abſentees and a decreaſe of our population? Is it by theſe our commerce is to be improved! My Lord, I do not glance at national degradation—I do not draw any argument from national pride which the ableſt and wiſeſt men have ever ſo intimately connected with national proſperity; I diveſt myſelf of every feeling but thoſe immediately connected with the mercantile character, and as a man not totally ignorant of, nor ſmally intereſted in the commercial proſperity of Ireland, I do ſay that in a Legiſlative Union with Great Britain, we are certain of nothing but loſs, and experimenting on our known and eſtabliſhed advantages of proſperity.—The next thing we are told is that a Union will allay our diſcontents. To overturn this poſition and to expoſe its abſurdity, I need but appeal to the feelings of every gentleman preſent, and to the ſtate of the country which has been thrown into agitation and diſmay by the bare mention of the meaſure. It is well known that the diſcontents which from time to time have prevailed in this country, have owed much of their exiſtence to *Abſentees*, yet to allay our diſcontents, the evil which gave them birth is to be encreaſed! This reaſoning

ing would provoke our riſibility if we could abſtract our minds from the magnitude of the miſchief which lurks beneath it.

My Lord, if theſe men who are indifferent to the independence of Ireland, becauſe they know nothing about it except the rents which they draw from it—if theſe men had reſided in their own country and among their tenantry, it is more than probable that we would never have been afflicted by that rebellion by which we have been reduced to that ſtate of humiliation and weakneſs, which has ſubjected our liberties, our manners, and our name to inſult, and threatened attack. [*A general expreſſion of applauſe.*]

My Lord, there is not in Ireland a man more attached to Britiſh connexion than I am, nor any man who would make a greater ſacrifice to promote the benefit of Britain, and the ſtrength of the Empire.—I would almoſt part with every thing for this purpoſe, but our free and internal Legiſlation. It is my attachment to Britiſh connexion that renders me averſe to the meaſure of an Union, becauſe I feel convinced that inſtead of ſtrengthening the two countries, it would eventually cauſe their ſeparation. But even admitting there exiſt any commercial inducements to a Union, this conſideration is not to abſorb all others; every thing is not to be yielded to commerce;

merce; nor are we to ſell our Britiſh right for a meſs of pottage, even which meſs may be ſnatched from us while we raiſe it to our mouths. With reſpect to our diſcontents we have not ſeen that a Union has been proved a panacea for the diſorder—two rebellions great and terrible have been the offspring of the Scottiſh Union, but even with the probability of a different effect here, we are not, to uſe the words of SWIFT, "*for a few humours to wear a perpetual bliſter.*"

In the opinion I am here uttering before the Bankers and Merchants of Dublin, I am not ſacrificing reaſon to prejudice; or general to partial intereſts. Altho' this city and its vicinage would be greatly and peculiarly injured by a Union; altho' the proſpects of induſtry and honeſt ſpeculation might be blaſted by the adoption of ſuch a meaſure, I would not, however, be one of thoſe to oppoſe it, if beneficial to the country at large, or to the empire; but convinced as I am that it would be hurtful to us, I cannot, attached as I am to our preſent connexion with it allow an inference merely advantageous to the ſiſter country; and I truſt, that if we were wantonly to favour a meaſure ſo injurious to ourſelves, the people of England when they ſhould come to take the ſubject into conſideration, would reject the meaſure, and humanely interpoſe between us and our criminal inſanity. But, my Lord, I hope that the early

and

and decided teſtimonies of public diſapprobation which are directed againſt the meaſure will never ſuffer it to aſſume a more ſerious and confirmed form than at this moment; and as I look upon a ſeparation of this kingdom and Great Britain as the greateſt misfortune which could befal either country, ſo do I look upon their legiſlative Union as the moſt dangerous and impolitic idea which could poſſibly be indulged.

I have treſpaſſed longer on your Lordſhip's indulgence and that of the aſſembly, than I at firſt intended, and I ſhall claim a continuance of that indulgence, only while I offer to your conſideration a few reſolutions which I truſt are not rendered objectionable by any want of temperance and moderation."

Here Mr. LATOUCHE moved the following reſolutions:

Reſolved, That ſince the renunciation of the power of Great Britain in the year 1782, *to legiſlate for Ireland, the commerce and proſperity of this kingdom have eminently encreaſed.*

Reſolved, That we attribute thoſe bleſſings under Providence, and the gracious favour of our beloved Sovereign, to the wiſdom of the Iriſh Parliament.

 Reſolved,

Reſolved, That we look with abhorrence on any attempt to deprive the people of Ireland of their Parliament, and thereby of their Conſtitutional right, and immediate power to legiſlate for themſelves.

Reſolved, That impreſſed with every ſentiment of loyalty to our King, and affectionate attachment to Britiſh connexion, we conceive that to agitate in Parliament a queſtion of legiſlative Union between this kingdom and Great Britain would be highly dangerous and impolitic.

On which,

Mr. J. C. Beresford aroſe and ſpoke to the following effect. "My Lord, in my ſituation as having the honour to be one of the repreſentatives in Parliament for this city, I have had communicated to me the prevailing ſentiments of my conſtituents on the ſubject which now occupies our conſideration; and feeling, as I do, that it is my duty to oppoſe the utmoſt of my power ſo dangerous and impolitic a meaſure as a Union, I am happy that in ſeconding the Reſolutions firſt moved, I ſhall equally obey my own inclinations and the wiſhes of my conſtituents. Whatever danger to the public peace may be apprehended from the agitation of ſuch a queſtion as this in the preſent ſtate of the country, the exiſtence of that

that danger can only be aſcribed to thoſe who have ſet the ſubject afloat, and will not I am ſure be encreaſed by any diſcuſſion which ſhall take place in this meeting, where I truſt every gentleman will deliver his ſentiments with that mingled temper and ſpirit of which they had a ſtrong and worthy example in what has been already offered this day on the ſubject of their conſideration; and carefully avoid yielding to that irritation which would be fully juſtified by the extraordinary threat againſt their freedom, but which would tend to create a jealouſy in the ſiſter kingdom, which, in the preſent ſituation of this, could only excite the hopes of our mutual enemies, and endanger the ſafety of the empire.

On the commercial diſadvantages which would reſult to this country from a Union of its legiſlature with that of Great Britain, I think it wholly unneceſſary for me to offer any thing after what has been advanced ſo fully and ſo ably on that part of the queſtion by my friend who has moved the reſolutions which I have the honour to ſecond; neither do I wiſh, on a ſubject already loaded with aggravating circumſtances, to touch on the baſe ingratitude of the Britiſh miniſter to this country, which has ſuffered ſo much, and bled at every pore, in its recent exertions to ſupport its connexion with Great Britain; nor do I

wiſh

wiſh to heighten the abhorrence which that ingratitude muſt excite, by calling the attention of the meeting, to the moment made choice of to inſult the country and threaten its independence. Wherein have we deſerved this treatment? Is it from the ſacrifices in men and money, which we have been ever prompt to make in ſupport of Great Britain, throughout the wars which from time to time ſhe has been engaged in? Could we have given greater or more ſolid proofs of our attachment? Could any new Union connect us more cloſely and beneficially? Or are we to be more valuable to Great Britain in the character of a debaſed and unwilling ſervant, than in that of an honourable and an affectionate friend? The few who are to be found as abettors of this meaſure of national ruin and degradation, advance that the diſcuſſion of it at preſent is unſeaſonable and imprudent, and ſhould be deferred until it would be ſeen whether it would be entertained by Parliament; and when the requiſition for this meeting was brought to me to ſign, I was alſo of opinion that an agitation of the ſubject in it's preſent ſtage, would be premature, until I reflected that prevention is better than cure, and that when once the Parliament were ſitting it would be doubtful whether the people could with propriety and ſafety publickly diſcuſs the queſtion. Beſides, my Lord, I feel confident that when the ſenſe of the people

of

of Ireland is known to the Miniſter, he will not dare ſo bring forward a meaſure, on which, had we remained ſilent, that ſilence he would interpret as an argument in it's favour, and deem it juſt to deprive us of an independence becauſe we did not remonſtrate againſt the violation. I truſt, however, that the reverſe will be the caſe, and that ſhould the Miniſter perſiſt in a deſign ſo manifeſtly againſt the ſenſe of the country, that our gracious and beloved Sovereign will not permit himſelf to be cajoled into the encouragement of a meaſure ſo hoſtile to the liberties of his Iriſh ſubjects, and ſo prophetic of ruin to the empire at large. The time to expreſs our opinions is before Government ſhall be committed on the ſubject—and I have no doubt but the public ſentiment will be ſo ſtrongly and unanimouſly expreſſed in diſapprobation of the meaſure, that Government will ſpare itſelf the embarraſſment and unpopularity of attempting a meaſure reprobated by the nation, before having attempted it, being obliged to recede from it's accompliſhment.

My Lord, among the various publications which have appeared on the ſubject of [illegible] I have ſeen but one in favour of it. [illegible] ought with ſuch groſs and unpardonable [illegible] to the people of Ireland, that I can [illegible] to join in the general opinion [illegible] been written

written by a perſon in the confidence of Government. The ſole object of it ſeems to be the revival of thoſe ſectarian differences and jealouſies from which this country has already ſuffered ſo much, for the purpoſe of making a common prey of both parties, and in the hope that to eſcape the fury of each other we may be induced to throw ourſelves for protection into the arms of any foreign power ready to receive us. But, I truſt, my Lord, that any hoſtile deſigns againſt the independence of this country, which may be founded on its internal diviſions, will prove abortive—and that our enemies of every deſcription, will find that all the people of Ireland, let their religious opinions differ as they may, will all unite in oppoſing a union which would bind them to degradation and ſubjection."

[While Mr. BERESFORD was ſpeaking, the warmeſt ſympathy was manifeſted by his auditors, and on the reſolutions being put from the Chair, they paſſed in the affirmative, with the moſt marked and eager unanimity.]

Mr. BERESFORD then recommended that the reſolutions ſhould be ſigned by all the Bankers and Merchants of the city, to prevent any calumniating and deſigned contradiction of their expreſſing the unanimous ſenſe of that deſcription of citizens

zens from whence they proceeded; a misrepresentation of public opinion, which is the well-known practice of certain Journals at this and the other side of the water.

This, however, was over-ruled on the principle of its producing delay—but it was suggested that if the LORD MAYOR would sign the resolutions for the Bankers and Merchants of Dublin, his Lordship's character would shield their proceedings from misrepresentation; and no calumniator, however daring, would be bold enough to attack the authenticity of that which should be sanctioned by his Lordship's name. This sugestion was accordingly carried into effect, and WM. D. LATOUCHE, Esq. having been voted into the Chair, the thanks of the meeting were returned to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, for the readiness with which he accorded with the requisition, and for his proper and dignified conduct in the Chair—which, having been again resumed by his Lordship, the meeting was dissolved.

FINIS.

CITY OF DUBLIN.

Poſt Aſſembly of the Right Hon. the LORD MAYOR, SHERIFFS, COMMONS, and CITIZENS of the City of DUBLIN, held at the Exhibition-Houſe, William ſtreet, on Monday the 17th December, 1798.

A VARIETY of rumours being in circulation, that an intended UNION of this Kingdom with Great-Britain, was in agitation, induced a General Aſſembly of this City, to call on the Lord Mayor to hold a Poſt Aſſembly for the purpoſe of taking ſaid Queſtion into Conſideration.

Reſolved unanimouſly, that by the ſpirited Exertions of the People and Parliament of this Kingdom, the Trade and Conſtitution thereof were ſettled on Principles ſo liberal, that the Nation has riſen ever ſince rapidly in Wealth and Conſequence.

Reſolved unanimouſly, that having boldly defended the Conſtitution, in King, Lords, and Commons, againſt the open and ſecret abettors of Rebellion, we are determined ſteadily to oppoſe any Attempt that may be made to ſurrender the free Legiſlation of this Kingdom, by uniting with the Legiſlature of Great Britain.

Ordered, That ſaid Reſolutions be publiſhed.

Signed by Order,

ALLEN and GREEN, *Town Clerks.*

A Privy-Counsellor analised:

IN A

LETTER

TO

MR. GRATTAN.

CONTAINING

EXCELLENT REASONS FOR THAT GENTLEMAN'S LATE *COMPLIMENTS* TO THE

CORPORATIONS AND UNIVERSITY

OF

DUBLIN.

WITH A FULL ACCOUNT OF MR. GRATTAN'S CALM AND POINTED FORGIVENESS OF ALL HIS ENEMIES:

AND THE HAPPY END OF POPULAR SOCIETIES.

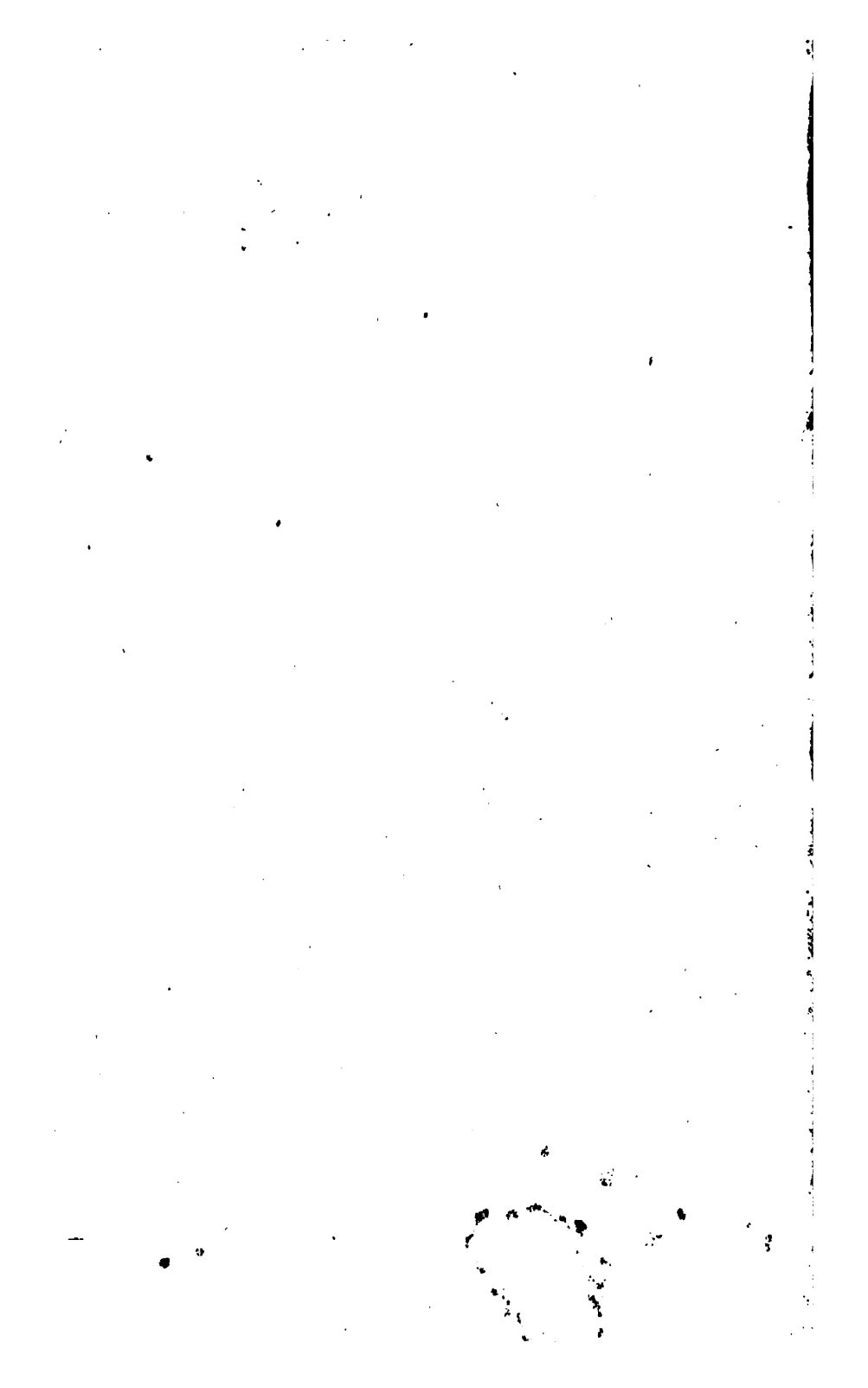
" ——————WHEN THE SPANISH ARMADA ASSAIL'D YOUR HIGHNESS—E'COD! THEY CAUGHT THE WRONG SOW BY THE EAR!!!"

Mayor of Coventry's Address to Queen Elizabeth.

DUBLIN:

Printed by William Porter, Grafton-Street.

1798.



A

LETTER

TO

MR. GRATTAN.

Dublin, November 20, 1798.

SIR,

As you have been pleaſed to addreſs the Guild of Merchants—Corporation of the City—and the Univerſity of Dublin—through the channel of a Britiſh print, you will pardon my noticing you through the medium of an Iriſh one.—We may have our mutual reaſons for the adoption.—You may wiſh to *attack* in a kingdom where you are not known, and I may wiſh to parry in a kingdom where you are. ——In the former, you might juſtly hope to ſink your political character in your literary

A expertneſs;

expertneſs; but in the latter, an unequivocal intimacy with both precludes you from a chance of profiting by any ignorance of the one, or any activity of the other; and as the *Courier* has done you the irreparable injury of publiſhing your Letter, I truſt he will be impartial enough to make you the only atonement in his power, by copying mine.

You might ſtill have enjoyed the advantages of obſcurity, amidſt the great body of the Engliſh Nation, but that the celebrity of your evidence at Maidſtone officiouſly introduced you to their notice; and the favourable impreſſion they muſt now receive from the publication of your Paragraph and Letter, (with the ſeveral Anſwers thereto,) will probably create an intimacy as laſting as your life; and I can aſſure you, that your publications leave in Ireland not one doubt reſpecting you, ſave as to the ſituation of your underſtanding; and, in Great Britain, no doubt whatſoever as to your *literary* capacity.

But perhaps you will think me too partial to you, when I declare, that I ſhould attribute the rhapſody

rhapſody of your ſtile rather to the foreneſs of your pride, than the overflowing of your folly, but that the unparalleled *incoherence* of ſome paſſages cultivates a ſtrong ground of *conjecture;* and almoſt induces me to doubt the charitableneſs of riſking any expreſſion which might tend to increaſe the malady.

However, as you ſeem to court a war of words, it is probable that your *next* Paragraph or Letter may determine the true ſtate of your ſituation; and, until then, I ſhall be inclined to adopt your own expreſſion to the Guild of Merchants, "*That at preſent you deſerve not abſolute ſilence, nor yet much notice.*"

Your Paragraph in the Oracle, of the 29th of October, does ſo much honour to your judgment and diſcretion, that any eulogium of mine muſt be ſquandered on ſo finiſhed, and ſo convincing, a performance; and, therefore, if I notice it at all, the only courſe left me is to criticiſe on its defects, which a very few words will fully perform, and which ſuch an ingenuous author, as you are, muſt diſintereſtedly admire.

In that argumentative Paragraph you very ſhrewdly aſſert, that " *the nonſenſical and falſe* " *charges brought againſt you, by the Guild of* " *Merchants, are not grounded on legal evidence;*" —and then, with equal ſhrewdneſs, and more ingenuity, you produce the moſt extraordinary and convincing ſpecies of *legal* evidence, to diſprove their charge, and eſtabliſh your own innocence, that forenſick expertneſs could, by poſſibility, give birth to—namely—you produce *yourſelf* as your *own witneſs*, and give deciſive teſtimony in your *own favour*, by further aſſerting, " *That the charge is falſe and* " *nonſenſical, and that it is remote and unſup-* " *ported; and that therefore the Corporation have* " *put their ſeal to falſhood and folly.*—No doubt, this is moſt eligible evidence to juſtify a politician in his *own* opinion; but I much fear the reaſoning part of the nation will ſay, that it is *not quite ſo legal* as that which it aſſumes to *anſwer*.

Quære——will much doubt be entertained whether the ſeal of the Corporation, or *(the late Right Honourable)* Henry Grattan's ſignature, has been affixed to the *greater folly*, or the more *remote aſſertion*

But

As Nelſon and Hughes, who had the aſſurance to accuſe you before the Iriſh Lords, did not rely *ſolely* on their ſeals or their ſignature, it happened moſt fortunately for your character, that their accuſation was corroborated *only* by *oath*; whilſt your juſtification has been *(more legally)* certified upon honour.

However, as I fear the Britiſh and Iriſh nations are too ſolid and ſulky to be convinced by the moſt exquiſite ingenuity, if it has not *ſome* ſenſe or argument to embelliſh it, I apprehend you had better handſomely give up the Paragraph at once, and try if we can have better ſucceſs in commenting on your Letter.

But if I ſhould continue the ſame ſtile of approbation and panegyric on your Letter, which I have uſed to your Paragraph, we might juſtly be ſuſpected of being in colluſion to impoſe upon the public, and therefore I ſhall now *affect* to proceed under colour of a more ſerious animadverſion; though I truſt you will do me the juſtice of thinking that I am ſo entirely diſintereſted on the ſubject, that I feel neither

neither influenced nor biaſſed in the moſt remote degree, by any puerile reſpect for either your writing or your character.

As your Paragraph had the ſingularity, ſo it had the end, of the phœnix, and from its aſhes, after eleven days' labour, has ariſen a Letter, which poſſeſſing all the qualities of the parent, adds the additional ornaments of length and rhapſody; and to enliven the former ſubjects of invective, adds *a compliment* to the Univerſity of Dublin and its reverend Doctors, as it were to give variety to a production, of which you perhaps doubted the inſipidity.——In that ſolid, argumentative, and well-digeſted Letter you ſay, "*You wiſh to begin with the* MERCHANTS, *as* "*you reſpect them moſt;*" and to convince them of that *reſpect*, and of your own *humility*, you proceed to tell them, very reſpectfully, (by a figure of rhetoric) "*that in bearing down your* "*character they forfeit their own.*"—I preſume you mean *public* character, and on that point we diſagree; for, on the contrary, I know of no means by which ſo reſpectable a body as the Guild of Merchants could ſo effectually forfeit

their

their characters, as by any futile effort to ſupport *yours.*

And perhaps you are the only man of this country, who is at this moment ignorant, that every public body in Ireland *elevates* its character in the ſame proportion as you *reprobate* it, and that every loyal ſubject becomes eſtimable in the ſame degree as he is honoured by your invective:—therefore, the Guild of Merchants, I apprehend, find themſelves both ſerved and honoured by your firſt animadverſion, and would willingly return you the ſame compliment, but fear it would not anſwer you the *ſame purpoſe.*

However, *gueſſing* the imbecillity and imprudence of your firſt obſervation, you proceed to qualify it by a worſe——and aſſert, "*that* "*the Guild of Merchants are no more the Mer-*"*chants of Dublin, than they are the People of* "*Ireland!*"——Singular! to find ſuch a faithful ſympathy between public *character* and private *memory*, that no ſooner the one is *injured*, than the other inſtantly becomes *impaired.* And in the critical moment, you totally forget, that the Guild of Merchants compoſe almoſt all the reſpectable

reſpectable traders in the city of Dublin; and at a full meeting of whom, and by a unanimous ſuffrage, (the *late Right Honourable*) HENRY GRATTAN was diſfranchiſed from the rank of freeman "becauſe he was concerned in promot-"ing the Rebellion."——This naturally ſtartled you, and to the pardonable fluſh of your ſpirits on that occaſion, I am willing to impute your florid and laconic deſcription of the Guild and their motives. But for the total abſence of Wit, in your deſcription, I ſhould have been led to think it ſavoured of reverie.——And the pureſt advice I can give you, to avoid ſimilar failures in ſatire and irony, is——rather to purſue your old and ſucceſsful practice of *plagiariſm*, than hazard the invention of any new ſyſtem of calumny, which none of the ſubjects could *feel*, and very few of them could *underſtand*.

But ſeeming to feel that your painting of the Guild could hardly catch the eye of your own country, you moſt plaintively complain to the Britiſh Nation of the "*ſcandalous proceedings* "*which a certain deſcription of people had adopted* "*to bear down your character.*" But you very judiciouſly

judiciouſly prevent all Britiſh ſtrangers from forming any grounded opinion as to the extent of the charge, or the juſtice of the puniſhment—by wiſely omitting to ſpecify the *perſons*, the *charge*, or the *infliction;* and moſt bravely hold out "*the ſhield of a character*" with which they are unacquainted, to "*receive the ſhafts*" of a charge of which they are ignorant, and then cunningly plume yourſelf upon the *inviſibility of both.*

However, in pity to the ſhade of departed reputation, I will try to lay the ſpirit of enquiry by which it is tormented, and drive all your diſgraces within the circle of a ſingle period—You have been degraded by your *King*—your *Country*—your *City*—your *Corporation*—your *Parliament*—your *Univerſity*—and your *Connections*——'Tis done!!

Public curioſity is now ſatisfied—enquiry will be at reſt—and your ingenuity will be ſaved the expenditure of any further equivocation. Nothing is now requiſite but *explanation.*

You have been degraded by your *King* from the rank and confidence of a *privy-counſellor.*

You have been degraded before the *Parliament,* by evidence upon their ſecret committee.

You have been degraded by the *Metropolis,* from the privileges of a *freeman* and *conſtituent.*

You have been eraſed by *Derry* from the rolls of their loyaliſts.

You have not been much *flattered* by the ſelf-conviction of your intimates.

And the brilliant ſhadow of your former honors has been wiſely chaſed from the walls of our univerſity, leſt even its ſhade ſhould obſcure the *principles* of the riſing generation.

Your talents—your name—nay, even the pride of your ſervices—have been degraded; and can never be reſtored, unleſs (in the words of your own addreſs to your conſtituents) it ſhall

"*pleaſe*

" *pleaſe Heaven to diſpoſe of Kings and of Parlia-*
" *ments ! ! !*

Theſe are grievous puniſhments, it is true—aſſailing at once the pride of a vain man, and diſappointments of an ambitious one, to whom no conſolation can now remain, ſave the honeſt reflection of having at leaſt *attempted* to ruin his country.

But ſo ſtrong is my veneration, even to the mourning *reliques* of virtue or of patriotiſm, that if it were poſſible to palliate the inſatiableneſs of your ambition, or the tortures of its diſappointment, I ſhould pardon the efforts of your *aſperity*, as I ſhould the *groans of Tantalus*, or the *curſes of Ixion*.

However, as you declare in your Letter, that " *you receive your injuries with calm and pointed forgiveneſs, the reſult of a proud ſuperiority*,"—I am happy that your *pride*, and your *philoſophy*, anticipate the purpoſes of my commiſeration, and furniſh that miraculous panacea to your conſcience, which, under every circumſtance and through every meaſure, can keep pace with the climax of your errors.

You ſay, "*to be angry with ſuch men were to be* "*degraded;*" I ſhould be equally inexcuſable with yourſelf, were I by any unneceſſary rebuke to rouſe that anger, or increaſe that degradation, which is already more than ſufficient to undeceive your country. I ſhall therefore reſtrain myſelf to the humble office of keeping the *reſult of* that "*proud ſuperiority*" in practice, for the exerciſe of which you have had, and probably will have, ſo many and ſuch preſſing occaſions.

Your juſtification is the moſt judicious that under ſuch circumſtances could poſſibly be adopted. Wide and comprehenſive,—it envelopes all crimes and all difficulties,——and wants nothing but *proof* and *argument* to render it *efficacious*.

You begin by ſaying, that "*You are ſo linked* "*and connected with every thing which belongs to* "*the Iriſh Nation, that a comprehenſive deſcription* "*of them could not by any injuſtice diſgrace itſelf,* "*without including their natural friend and advo-*"*cate in their degradation.*"

So far as that ſentence is *intelligible*, I perfectly agree with you.

I freely

I freely admit, that you have been *lately* ſo linked and connected with *a thing* that belonged to a *great body* of the Iriſh nation, that it is now doubtful *which* the diſgrace belongs to. And I alſo admit, that your degradation does ariſe from being the natural friend and advocate of *that body* of the people with whom you were ſo linked and connected; and which body, after having cauſed the veins of 35,000 of his Majeſty's deluded ſubjects to be opened, has at length *given you the ſlip*, and (at leaſt *affected*) to return to its allegiance.

And as to another great body of the Iriſh nation, of whom if you were not the *natural*—I admit you were the *pretended*—friend and advocate, it is now pretty well aſcertained, that your friendſhip has ruined the *credit*, and your advocacy the *cauſe*, of your clients; and that the only advantage they can now derive from their experience, is the comfortable reflection, that in deſtroying *them*, you have ruined *yourſelf*; and muſt now relinquiſh your trade, as you can expect no farther *credit*.

Your

Your next ground of defence is neither ſo general or ſo judicious. You rely (as a proof of *your innocence*) that there was not *legal* evidence of your *guilt* before the Guild of Merchants, and I equally admire your play upon the word "*concerned*," as uſed by the Guild; and your ſilence on the word "*promoted*," as uſed by the Corporation. The former expreſſion you conceived more *difficult of proof* than the latter, and if you could weaken the application of the one term, you would let the other take its chance of credit.

But when you took and ſubſcribed the *oath of a Freeman*, you had quite comprehenſion enough to underſtand the *extent* of your obligation; and I do not recollect in that oath any *ſalvo* for a play upon expreſſions, more eſpecially relating to *treaſonable practices*. However, if you have any doubts upon that ſubject, you can eaſily reconcile yourſelf by recurring to your *own jurat*.

Though the great leading principles of *legal* evidence, as admitted or applied by the ſuperior

or

or ordinary courts of *criminal* judicature, are decided and immutable, yet, the practice—the neceſſity—the mode—and the extent of evidence, is frequently varied before other tribunals. Parliament,—courts-martial and military—courts of admiralty—corporation courts—juriſdictions by ſtatute—&c. frequently admit evidence for *ſpecial* purpoſes, by *privilege*, *cuſtom*, or *ex neceſſiate rei*, which ſtrictly would not be ſufficient in the ordinary *criminal* courts of juſtice; yet, by that privilege, cuſtom, or neceſſity, it becomes legal evidence, *quoad* the ſubjects—purpoſe—or application; and I believe you will hardly *reſt* your juſtification on an argument that a corporation, in *excution of its corporate power* or capacity, muſt, in *all* inſtances produce the ſame ſtrict, technical, full, *extent* of legal evidence to *amove* a corporator, which would be neceſſary to HANG him. And your charge againſt the Guild being disfranchiſement, without as much legal evidence as would *take away your life*, I apprehend that ſo far from reprobating the Guild of Merchants, for not going far *enough* in evidence, you ought rather to have given them your moſt ſincere and

public

public thanks, for not having gone *further* than was neceſſary to a *civil* purpoſe.

I do not deny a *precipitancy* of the Guild in your amoval, but (it being performed) I admire your hardineſs and courage in provoking a *canvaſs* of its *cauſes*.

Yet, however the Guild might have been zealous or precipitate, the one was fully authorized by your *conduct*, the other by your *abſence*. The evidence of Hughes and Nelſon, and the ſilence of Sweetman, were equally comprehenſive and convincing; being *concerned* in rebellion, and *promoting* it, though different words have the ſame import. In rebellion all are principals, from the crude conſpirator to the finiſhed rebel, through all the tools and inſtruments of its workmanſhip; and the Guild of Merchants, who (not you) were to judge of the credit to be given to your accuſers, unluckily thought differently from you, and ſupported their opinion by a corporate expulſion. You were not called on for your defence, becauſe you had fled from its *juriſdiction*, and to the errors of your conduct, had wiſely added the impoſſibility of being called upon to defend it.

Therefore,

Therefore their zeal in your amoval, you muſt attribute to their *loyalty*, and the want of notice to your *elopement*.

I do not wiſh to hurt your feelings by a recital of the Freeman's *oath*;—as you always evinced a very juſt deteſtation to the revenue, in all its departments, I ſhould not preſume that you would claſs the obligation of a free merchant with the oath of an exciſeman, *taken for form, and obſerved at diſcretion*. Yet if you attempt to refine upon the conſtruction of the one, you eſtabliſh the doctrine of the other; and defend yourſelf upon the ſame principle, which you have ſpent half your life, and all your argument, in reprobating.—— Lord Mansfield has clearly determined—that a *breach* of a corporate oath is ſufficient cauſe of amoval, (without *conviction* in a court of law)—Analyſe your oath—conſider your conduct—reflect on the accuſation—read the proofs—and as you are now very juſtly indifferent to public opinion, and all its conſequences, give me a little of that candour, a retention of which can now be of no further value to you, and ſay truly—. Have the Guild or Corporation proceeded upon

evidence, " *not only not true, but recorded to be* " *falſe?*"——I ſhall again appeal to your *candour*—it ſeems the moſt valuable quality to perſons ſo illiberally accuſed as you have been. —*Candour* has been the moſt reviving *preſervative* amongſt many of your friends and intimates—by their recent *candour*, ſome of them have lately obtained a general *leave of abſence* from this kingdom, inſtead of being obliged to travel a much more troubleſome and *painful journey.*

Therefore take courage—anſwer me with *candour* (like Beattie's argument for the Chriſtian religion) " *if it can do you no good, you may be aſſured it can do you no harm.*"

Queries——Have your Speeches in Parliament, ſince Lord Fitzwilliam and you were *depoſed*, tended to *promote Rebellion?*

Has your Addreſs to the Catholics, deſiring them " *inſtantly to embrace, and greatly to* " *emancipate,*" tended to *promote Rebellion?*

Has

Has your celebrated Addreſs to your Conſtituents, (ſo prettily handled by his Worſhip, Dr. Duigenan) tended to *promote Rebellion?*

—I do not ſuſpect you for countenancing the Union Star—the inſtructions there were too plain and intelligible for your pen—But pray did you write for the *Preſs?*

—I ſhall aſk you no queſtions relative to your journey to Maidſtone, as a witneſs to the *purity* of O'Connor, becauſe he gave you the *retort courteous*, and confeſſed himſelf *guilty*—circumſtances not *equally* confirming your credit and his veracity.

——But, Mr. Grattan——Did you, with *all your innocence on your head*, when a mortal, cruel, and bigoted rebellion, burſt forth in your country—when the Iriſh gentry were proſcribed—butchered—and would have been annihilated but for their union and their gallantry.—I ſay, did you *fly for the ſame, or not?*—Were you then found in the ranks of loyalty and of honour, encouraging, by your counſels, or aiding by your perſon, (ſuch as it was) the cauſe of your country?

Or, did the Evening-ſtar find you an *emigrant* in Angleſea—ſkulking behind ſome correſponding cragg—and rehearſing to the unconſcious rock the fabricated periods of that inflammatory eloquence, which at once fired and *conſumed* your country?

—When the plunderers of Europe invaded that country which you profeſs to *adore*—and deſperately plunged at its religion and its conſtitution—when you had no pretence to ſay it was the *cauſe of the* IRISH *People*—where were you?—Why did you deſert your ſtandard, when the enemy were FRENCH?—Anſwer—or plead guilty.——I aſk you but one queſtion more—now—Are the charges againſt you *remote and nonſenſical?*

The Guild of Merchants—the Corporation of Dublin—and "*all other Corporations and* "*perſons adopting ſimilar proceedings*,"—receive with equal ſatisfaction the acrimony of your reproach, and the "*calmneſs of your forgiveneſs*," —and offer you neither their *enmity* or their *friendſhip*; they know you can want neither an *enemy* or a *flatterer*, while you poſſeſs your *own confidence*.

In

In atonement for my foregoing ſtrictures upon your performance, and the pain and conſtraint I feel in becoming your commentator, I muſt now expreſs my delight and admiration of the *ſtyle* in which you have ſo ingeniouſly *painted*—" *your calm forgiveneſs*" of the Reverend Doctors—ſo admirably adapted to *decry* the principles of the *Union*—your compliment, judiciouſly beginning with blaſphemy, and ending with nonſenſe—the glorious prototype of religion and politics UNITED.

The firſt part of your compliment to the Doctors is admirable. You ſay—" *Were it not* " *robbing Heaven, &c. &c.*"—the *ſublimity* of the idea muſt ſtrike even the ſtupidity of the Guild —and robberies of that kind having been ſeldom attempted ſince the time of the Giants, in Ovid's Metamorphoſes, muſt give an admirable ſcope to the reſearches of the learned and accompliſhed profeſſors of aſtronomy, to diſcover the *manner* by which you intend to perform the ſame; and the Reverend Profeſſors of Theology and Divinity will certainly feel much obliged by your timely notice of your intention to *plunder* a place, which they have hitherto been

been accuſtomed to conſider as very much belonging to *themſelves*; whilſt the boldneſs of the expreſſion diſplays an undaunted contempt for danger, both of ſoul and body—and muſt render immortal the name of that hero, who having made every attempt upon *this* world, has declared his intention of aſſaulting the *next*.

As to the reſidue of the compliment, beginning with the words "*up and down*," and ending with the word "*Clergymen*," nothing can be ſo complimentary to the profound learning and erudition of the Reverend Doctor Barret and the learned ſeminary, as the ſolution of a ſentence, which moſt certainly will puzzle all the reſt of the world.—If the Reverend Doctors *cannot* decypher it, they will probably take it as a *greater* compliment than you intended.—If they can, they will have the honour of ſolving the ambiguity of a diction, unparalleled in any language, living or dead, upon the face of the habitable globe, (except one paſſage of *Rabelais*, which his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty referred to the learned College at Salamanca for an explanation.)

My

My humble advice to the Doctors of the Holy Trinity is—to refer your compliment to the Hiſtoric Society, as a *ſtanding* ſubject for diſquiſition and argument—and the more eſpecially, as I underſtand that one of the fundamental laws of that learned inſtitution is—"*never to come to any deciſion.*"

The ſole cauſe of your compliment is ſaid to have ariſen by the amoval of your *picture* from the Hall of the Univerſity, where it had been placed in oppoſition to the Right Hon. Henry Flood—who, to ſhew how inferior *his mode* of "*forgiveneſs*" was to your's, bequeathed almoſt his whole fortune to the Reverend Doctors.

Yet however you may be attached to the *other* ſyſtem, with great propriety, copy the moderation of the Court—when you recollect the vicious treatment your (former) friend, Mr. Broom, has given to divers Kings, Queens, and Lord Lieutenants, who appear, ſtuck up in rags, in his riding-houſe, to frighten his horſes—and that not one of them—their heirs or ſucceſſors—have ever complained of the indignity they have ſuffered.

Nor

Nor do I apprehend that Mr. Broom will even be attainted for the ſame, (as by law he might) at leaſt for a conſiderable time after his * *death and interment*;—and as your's has only experienced the fate of other family pictures, and the ſame which probably your own heir will think proper to perform in time to come, if he ſhall, at any period, chance to read your life and adventures, or theſe preſents, I ſhould recommend it to you, not to give yourſelf further uneaſineſs upon this ſubject, unleſs you think proper to recur to your invincible and ſtanding argument, viz. that the learned Doctors had not *legal evidence* ſufficient to amove your—portrait.

As I am aware that any thing reſpecting an Adminiſtration of which you are not a *Miniſter*, muſt be ungrateful to your feelings, I have poſtponed that ſubject to the laſt, and I ſhall only advert to that branch of it in which you have been *official*.

You *were* a Privy Counſellor—you took and ſubſcribed the *oath* of a Privy Counſellor—you were thereby bound to your allegiance in its *ſtricteſt*

—* Vide late attainder bill.—

ſtricteſt ſenſe—did that *Oath* ſpeak of "diſcover-"ing treaſon—miſpriſion of treaſons—treaſon-"able conſpiracies—*&c. &c. &c.?*"—Were you thereby bound to his Majeſty's crown and dignity—and the Conſtitution in *Church* and *State?*—and did you *fully*, *fairly*, and *unequivocally* fulfil that obligation?

Nelſon and Hughes ſay, *not!*—They have the preſumption to ſay—you enquired, and were informed of, the *numbers of conſpirators*—the *numbers of their opponents*—the ſtate of the country—and that you were "*preſſed to* COME FORWARD,"—and you CONCEALED IT all!—Was that an inſignificant inducement to remove you from the *rank*, and *confidence* of a *Privy-Counſellor?*——Far be it from me, to accuſe his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, with the *crime* of your degradation;—your ſpirited deſcription of his Excellency's "*extraordinary conteſt—ſtruggling to* SPARE "*the Iriſh people, againſt an* IRISH FACTION*!!*" is ſufficiently comprehenſive of *your* approbation, and his Excellency's *merit*. Nor could it be ſuppoſed, that *he* who removed *you* from the *Privy-Council* would have found more favor in

your ſight, than they who removed you from the *Corporation*: and we muſt therefore attribute your diſmiſſal to your SOVEREIGN——and your ſilence on *his* virtues ſubſtantiate the conjecture.

I ſhall not enter into any diſquiſition *(at preſent)* of his Excellency's meaſures—my mind is made up—but it is foreign to the preſent ſubject. As to FACTION—*I* am equally inimical as *yourſelf*—I own it not—and be aſſured, I ſhall never be the advocate of a *malignant* or *ſanguinary Faction*—nor yet of a *wrong-headed*, *obſtinate*, and *miſchievous Perverſeneſs*.—I deſpiſe *Faction*—I am unconnected with it—and in my opinion nothing can be more *diſgraceful*—more *dangerous*—or more *diſhonourable* to a *free* Country, than a FACTION to ſet up an OLIGARCHY—except a FACTION to ſet up a REPUBLIC!!!

Your *gracious* SOVEREIGN heard of your *Curioſity*, and has *promoted* you from the ſtation of a *Privy-Counſellor* to the rank of a CITIZEN—an *elevation* ſo accordant to your *Principles* and *Politics*, that you muſt be delighted at your *preferment;*—however, if any perverſe chagrin ſhould induce you

you to think otherwiſe, you have ſtill a ſalutary anodyne in your "*pointed forgiveneſs*—and a high conſolation in your *irrefragable* argument—— "That his MAJESTY had not *legal evidence* for "your amoval.———We have now, (I hope much to your *ſatisfaction* and *amuſement*) gone through your PARAGRAPH and LETTER—I repeat to you—I belong *not* to the FACTION you reprobate; but I am a *Freeman*—a *Free-Merchant* —(nay, ſomething *more* in this country)—and, *above all*, I am a LOYAL SUBJECT. I write not to aſſail *you*—but to defend *them*. You ill-adviſedly called out *their* advocates, whilſt you oſtentatiouſly aſſume that office for a *Body you call* THE PEOPLE, but *I* call The DUPES!

I lean not on your *private character*, or your *private conduct*—I know of *nothing* reprehenſible in either—and if I did, I am neither mean or malicious enough to publiſh it:——But you have made your *public* character—*Fair Game*——you have ſo interwoven your political *delinquency* with your *calumny* of the Metropolis—that any man attached to the *one*, is called upon to expoſe the *other*:——You have fallen from a *great height*—

and *never* will have ſtrength to ſcramble back to your ſituation!

I ſhall have the honor ſedulouſly to attend to your *performances*——and as often as you ſhall pleaſe to *tumble* for the amuſement of my *native* City—ſo often I ſhall be ready to give due credit to that entertaining verſatility of your *native* talents, which changed you from the HERO—to the *Harlequin*—of IRELAND.

N. B. As your *abſence* from your Country, *whilſt the Rebellion was deciding*, has probably prevented many of your *Friends* from correſponding with you (ſince that *unconſtitutional* practice, of opening gentlemen's letters in the poſt-office) you would, perhaps, wiſh to know the *fate* of your Brethren in the *popular* Societies for *Reform* and *Emancipation*—which *you* ſo judiciouſly planted, and ſo luxuriantly embelliſhed——you have therefore annexed a Liſt of a *few* of theſe "*dear Friends*" with whom you were "*ſo linked* "*and connected*" in *bono publico*—and whoſe glorious *martyrdom* in defence of their Societies, muſt

muſt ſurely twine another laurel round the temples of their *Founder* and their *Patron*.——Permit to aſſure you, (with the true ſpirit of *diplomatic* courteſy) that I hold you in the *higheſt Conſideration*,

And am, *&c. &c. &c. &c.*

MERCATOR, &c.

A LIST

A LIST

Of a FEW leading Gentlemen *(dear Friends)* belonging to the Laudable and Patriotic SOCIETIES of —— THE PEOPLE,

The Whig-Club—Society for Liberty and Peace—
UNITED IRISHMEN——Catholic Convention——
REGENERATED Aldermen of Skinners'-Alley——
——National Executive——Dublin Library——
SOCIETY to procure Evidence for LORD MOIRA
—&c. &c. &c.—

Who have been moſt *ungenerouſly* HANGED OFF or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, *againſt* the Law of *Liberty—by* the Law of the *Land.*

Counſellor H. Sheares	Hanged.
Counſellor J. Sheares	Hanged.
Counſellor T. Emmett	Caſt for Tranſportation.
Counſellor A. O'Connor	Caſt for Tranſportation.
Counſellor Sampſon	Tranſported.
Counſellor Wolfe Tone, *Catholic Secretary*	Throat cut.
Counſellor Sir E. Croſbie, Bart.	Hanged.
Counſellor B. Harvey	Hanged.
W. M. Byrne, Eſq.	Hanged.

Lord

Lord Edw. Fitzgerald	Shot.
Counſellor Moore, *ex-Director, (of Caſtlebar)*	Habeas Corpus'd.
Mr. Oliver Bond	Condemned—and died for fear of being hanged.
Major Bacon	Hanged.
Doctor Mc. Nevin	Caſt for Tranſportation.
Secretary of *Whig Club*	Caſt for Tranſportation.
Lieut. Buckley	Hanged.
Mr. Byrne, (*Printer* to to all the above)	Caſt for Tranſportation.
Attornies to the above. Meſſrs. Dowling, Keon, Mc. Guchen, &c. &c. &c.	Caſt for Tranſportation, on their own Confeſſions.

For the *other* Gentlemen *(ill-uſed)* I refer you to the *Tranſportation-Bill*—*Fugitive-Bill*—and DUBLIN JOURNAL—&c. &c.

OH! TEMPORA!

OH! MORES!!!

FINIS.

LETTERS

FROM A

GENTLEMAN

IN IRELAND,

TO HIS FRIEND

AT BATH.

CORK:

PRINTED AT THE HERALD-OFFICE, DUNCAN-STREET.

1798.

LETTERS.

LETTER I.

Cork, September 10, 1798.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE neceſſity that compels you to have continual recourſe to the reſtorative virtue of Bath waters, has long been lamented by your friends in this country: it is now peculiarly felt. If the agreeable qualities of your private character alone were wanting, they might be diſpenſed with, but no portion of public virtue can at ſuch a time be ſpared. The abſence of every well diſpoſed gentleman, be the circle of his influence, example, and authority ever ſo ſmall, is a ſerious misfortune; and I am ſorry to be obliged to obſerve, that too many of our countrymen have quitted the poſts they were bound by every tie of honour and duty to maintain, without half ſo good an apology for their deſertion.

THE anxiety you feel to be made fully acquainted with the real ſituation of things here, is natural, and I wiſh with all my heart I was as well qualified as I am

to gratify it. A perſon who has been ſeven years abſent from this country may be well ſurpriſed at the extraordinary changes that have taken place within ſo ſhort a period. When you left your native land, it was advancing faſt to opulence and importance.—Among the lower orders, the comforts of induſtry and exertion began to ſucceed to the miſery of riot and idleneſs; while thoſe of the better ſort made a proportional progreſs in the culture of uſeful and polite arts. Religious prejudice ſeemed to have ſacrificed its inveteracy at the altar of national concord, and liberality of ſentiment, if not the order, was at leaſt the faſhion of the day. Agriculture and commerce received daily improvement and increaſe, and the acceſſion of wealth for a few years immediately preceding this unfortunate rebellion was extremely rapid. No longer neglected, deſpiſed or unknown, Ireland began to feel the importance of her ſituation, and to attain among nations her due degree of rank and celebrity. The dignity and independence of her parliament being aſſerted and eſtabliſhed, nothing but time and tranquillity ſeemed wanting to enſure to her ſons as high a degree of temporal proſperity, as the imperfection of human nature can venture to aſpire to. In the general ſyſtem of government no material defect was obſerved, or at leaſt complained of. The diſpute among politicians reſpected the *competency* of *miniſters*, not the *form* of the *conſtitution*. Diſſenſion of rival parties, ſtruggling for miniſterial advancement, is always found in a free ſtate, and, though

though productive of much rancour and violence, ſeems ſo far from retarding the general good, that to a certain degree, it appears neceſſary to promote it. In this ſtate of affairs you left the country.—Every thing ſeemed to lead to happineſs, proſperity, and peace. You deſire to know by what dæmon the apple of diſcord has been thrown among us, and why a people ſo content, ſo thriving and ſo united, have on a ſudden moſt unaccountably daſhed their cup with gall, and given themſelves up a prey to the moſt fiend-like and tormenting paſſions. You would even be incredulous, if it was poſſible to doubt the fact.—You think that a people ſo attached and amenable, would never have entered into lawleſs combination and bloody conſpiracy without ſome cogent reaſons, and you wiſh me to give you a candid account of their motives and their conduct. The northern part of the kingdom, you believe, has generally been more or leſs divided and diſturbed by religious diſſenſion, but in the ſouth, the place of our nativity and reſidence, all appeared to be mutual confidence and harmony. You conceived the Roman Catholic tenant to be as affectionately attached, and to have as ſtrong grounds of affectionate attachment to a Proteſtant landlord as to one of his own profeſſion of faith, and convinced as you are that the conduct of the Proteſtant gentry has of late been even improving in point of kindneſs and liberality, it is a matter of the juſteſt ſurpriſe to learn that they have in ſo many inſtances become victims to the barbarous and undiſtinguiſhing

tinguiſhing rage of the peaſantry. You intreat me to explain, if I can, by what diabolical ingenuity, the agents of ſedition, have been able to arm the hand of the domeſtic againſt his maſter, to perſuade the tenant to conſpire againſt the life of his landlord, and to induce the ſubject, at the riſk of his own life and property, to meditate the deſtruction of that government from which he had received favours that ſome years ago his moſt ardent expectations did not aſpire to, and under which he was thriving with almoſt unexampled rapidity. Of the general nature and extent of the conſpiracy the reports of the ſecret committees of our two houſes of parliament have given a clear and ſuccinct account. I ſhall endeavour to enter a little more into detail, in order to explain the true ſprings and motives by which ſuch ſanguinary paſſions were excited, and ſo many jarring and diſcordant parts combined into a revolutionary ſyſtem, to promote the ambitious deſigns of a few turbulent men, whoſe wickedneſs and temerity would, perhaps, have been more ſeverely puniſhed by their ſucceſs, than they have been by their diſappointment.

I remain, &c.

LETTER II.

THE origin of our troubles is undoubtedly to be aſcribed to the French revolution, that moſt fertile and extenſive ſource of diſcontent, turbulence and inſurrection. The plauſibility of its firſt principles, was, it muſt be confeſſed, almoſt irreſiſtibly impoſing. The idea of a government, in which power was never to be abuſed, where merit alone was to be rewarded by diſtinction, and where all were to live in tranquil and happy brotherhood, could not fail to faſcinate and delight: ſuch a ſyſtem of ſocial communion had often been the ſubject of philoſophic theory, but was never before conſidered as reducible to practice. The felicity of an Utopia incompatible with human frailty, is only to be found in the imagination. Nothing, however, is inſurmountable to that vanity which ſcorning to build upon wiſdom and experience of others, aſpires to an excluſive ſapience. The *illuminated* ſages of the Pariſian ſchool pretended to ſee no difficulty in accompliſhing what the collected wiſdom of ſix thouſand years had declared to be impracticable. The reſult of the undertaking correſponded with its arrogance, and exhibited a ſeries of diſappointments and calamities, from which human pride, would it deign to be taught, might draw a moſt profitable leſſon. Among the various parties that ſucceſſively

ceſſively preſided in that diſtracted country, profeſſion and practice have been ſo ſingularly at variance with each other, that laws appear to have been made, for the ſole pleaſure of having them repealed; decrees iſſued, for no other purpoſe than to be reverſed; and principles laid down, only that they may be violated. The conſtitution, which one aſſembly pronounced to be a maſterpiece of human contrivance, was found by another incomplete and defective; it was ſucceeded, of courſe, by a ſecond effort of ingenuity, the perfection of which was equally admirable, but, alas! equally tranſitory. A monarchy under certain reſtrictions, though ſanctioned by the general conſent of the nation, was, without waiting the teſt of an experiment, exchanged for a republic under no reſtriction at all. To aboliſh the reign of ſuperſtition they engaged a ſtrumpet to perſonate a goddeſs. The perſon of their late King was by the ſolemn voice of the legiſlature declared to be inviolable, but a ſhort time before they cut off his head. The *Trade of War* was expreſsly renounced as incompatible with the *new* philanthropy; yet it has been in fact almoſt the only trade of regenerated and benevolent France! This everlaſting war of principle with practice; this wanton diſregard of every thing ſerious, ſolemn and obligatory; this perpetual ſacrifice of juſtice to expediency; this verſatility of ſyſtem which forbids the haraſſed ſubject to expect the comfort of ſecurity under ſettled laws, have, it is true, in a great meaſure reſtored to the deluded mind its ſanity of judgment.

judgment. The faſcinating viſion is gone by and we are recovered to reaſon and common ſenſe. The deluſion no doubt could be only temporary, but during its continuance what horrors might have enſued I tremble even to think! Even among the enlightened inhabitants of Great Britain, where every bleſſing is enjoyed that a happy climate, a fertile and highly improved country, a well regulated government, and a flouriſhing commerce can beſtow, were found proſelytes to the new doctrines, who would have hazarded their real comforts in the purſuit of imaginary felicity; light and lively imaginations were captivated by ſpecioufneſs and novelty.— To profligate men of deſperate fortune any convulſion appeared deſirable, while unprincipled ambition beheld in revolution the ready means of aggrandizement. To cheriſh and diffuſe the innovating ſpirit artful and inflammatory publications were circulated with the moſt inſidious induſtry; and, as if the pen was inſufficient to anſwer the purpoſes of thoſe diſturbers of human repoſe, the powers of the tongue alſo were actively exerted in the ſame cauſe. Speeches were made and lectures delivered to aſtoniſhed and admiring multitudes, in which the ſalutary reſtrictions of law were repreſented as unreaſonable, partial and oppreſſive, and the novel bleſſings of liberty and equality recommended and diſplayed in terms of the higheſt rapture. The mode of aſſembling in clubs or ſmall ſocieties, in which politics were diſcuſſed and debated, became general, and every porter-houſe could boaſt a ſet of ſtateſmen, who, without the aid

of education or experience, conceived themſelves competent to every branch of legiſlative occupation. In a malady ſo general it was impoſſible for our iſland to eſcape contagion. More giddy, thoughtleſs, and irritable in their diſpoſitions than the inhabitants of Great Britain, the Iriſh are of courſe more ſuſceptible of novel impreſſions, excluſive of which conſideration, there exiſted among them ſome peculiar cauſes of diſcontent, which it ſhall be the buſineſs of a ſucceeding letter to inveſtigate and explain.

I remain, &c.

LETTER III.

IT ſeems extraordinary that rational creatures ſhould wantonly abuſe their diſtinguiſhing privilege; that they ſhould neglect a real, to purſue an imaginary good, and forſake the ſubſtance, to follow the ſhadow. Security of perſon and property, under well adminiſtered laws, is all that the bulk of a people can expect, or indeed can receive, from any form of government. The government which protects and encourages the honeſt and induſtrious, whatever be its name, merits their confidence and claims their ſupport. Change can hardly improve their condition,

tion, but may very eaſily make it worſe. The truth is that the deſire of change, even in governments of very inferior character, ſeldom, if ever originates with the people. It is not the ſenſe of oppreſſion in the many, but the luſt of power in the few that generates the diſcontented ſpirit. The facility with which the weak and tottering fabric of French monarchy was overthrown, ſtimulated the turbulent in other nations. The ſudden exaltation to ſupreme power, from the middle and even from the lower ranks of ſociety, exhibited a very ſeductive and dangerous example.—Every factious and noiſy fellow who poſſeſſed, or, what was the ſame thing, fancied he poſſeſſed talents for legiſlating, beheld a paſſage opened to his ambition, and ſtraightway aſpired to be a ruler. But as the new ſovereigns could not be inveſted with dominion, before the people had been prevailed upon to diſpoſſeſs the old ones, it was in the firſt place neceſſary to diffuſe diſcontent, in order to excite tumult and provoke rebellion. In Great Britain, the efforts of the republican faction were violent but inefficacious. The vigour of government ſeconded by the good ſenſe of the people, ſoon defeated the projects and diſappointed the hopes of the revolutioniſts.—The ſteady character of the Engliſh, which in times of inferior knowledge as well as of inferior proſperity, induced them to preſerve their laws and cuſtoms inviolate, now peculiarly demanded of them to declare, with the determined voice of true patriotiſm, *Nolumus le ges Angliæ mutari.* In Ireland the ſame

ſtrong and general ſpirit of attachment was not to be expected. Beſides the great difference ſubſiſting between the inhabitants of both countries, in point of civilization, and all the arts and enjoyments of ſocial life, other cauſes concurred to promote diſcontent, and facilitate the admiſſion of revolutionary principles. Diſſonance of religious worſhip, carrying with it, for a long time back, a diſcordance of political opinion, prevented that cordiality of ſentiment, that union of intereſt, ſo deſirable in every ſociety, and ſo happily pervading the people of England. The Preſbyterians of the north, deſcended from the old levelling party, which overturned the monarchy in the time of the firſt Charles, have always had a hankering after republicaniſm, and of courſe lent a willing ear to the ſpecious doctrine of equality. The Catholics of Ireland, warmly attached to the intereſts of the Stuart family, were but beginning to be reconciled to the more liberal principles of the houſe of Hanover: the partiality of the former to the Roman Catholic religion endeared them particularly to a people profeſſing the ſame creed, and who, to ſpeak of them in the general, were extremely ignorant, and conſequently more likely to act from blind and bigotted attachment, than from motives of judicious diſcrimination. Notwithſtanding a long interval of amicable intercourſe and connection with their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, they had not yet eraſed from their minds the recollection of paſt animoſity. Looking upon them as Heretics, incapable of merit in the ſight of God, agreeable

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to a very abſurd, as well as illiberal tenet of the Romiſh church, they beheld with jealouſy a religion ſo obnoxious eſtabliſhed in preference to their own. They had not ceaſed to regret the ſuppreſſion of their ancient clans, and the downfall of their hereditary chieftains; and conſidering the Proteſtants, in general, as deſcendants of thoſe Engliſh ſettlers by whom their native leaders were diſpoſſeſſed, regarded them in the odious character of conquerors or uſurpers. Notions of this kind, handed down from one generation to another, loſe ſomething of their force by every tranſmiſſion, and would in time, was no opportunity of revival to occur, be entirely effaced. Habits of induſtry and increaſing civiliſation would finally produce the reformation moſt wanted here—a reformation of *manners*. This happy æra, however, was yet far diſtant: the ſmothered embers of diſcontent, which a century of tranquillity would ſcarcely ſuffice to extinguiſh, were, with but too much facility fanned into a flame. The leaders of the conſpiracy, whoſe oſtenſible object was the good of the people, whoſe real end was their own aggrandizement, ſedulouſly made uſe of every means to nouriſh jealouſy and excite diſſatisfaction: every ſource of complaint was diligently explored; every ſpecies of grievance, real or imaginary, artfully exaggerated; every latent prejudice fomented; and every fierce and lawleſs deſire encouraged to expect its ampleſt gratification. Each member of the confederacy, from the pike-armed peaſant to the dagger-bearing director, beheld in full view the

accompliſhment

accompliſhment of his favourite purpoſe. The indigent were lured by the hope of riches, the wealthy by the proſpect of power. To better his condition is the natural wiſh of man. To do it honeſtly is his duty and, generally ſpeaking, his happineſs. But to do it honeſtly, though his real, is not always his apparent intereſt. The object of deſire ſeems frequently attainable by a ſhorter than the preſcribed road, and in the hope of rapid acquiſition, crime and danger are preferred to virtue and delay. For the ignorant and uneducated ſomething may be urged in extenuation. They have not learned to ſubdue and regulate their paſſions. Engroſſed by preſent objects, and unaccuſtomed to act from reflection, they fall into the tempter's ſnare with a facility, which is more a matter of regret than ſurpriſe. But where ſhall we ſeek a palliative for the baſe and treacherous conduct of thoſe who ought to have known better? The inſolent mockery of French profeſſions was now at an end. The ſimpleſt underſtanding had ceaſed to be their dupe. It was not even pretended that their boaſted republicaniſm could make men wiſer, worthier, or happier, on the contrary it was almoſt univerſally admitted to have produced the very oppoſite effects. Let me then ſuppoſe a man bleſſed by Heaven with ſuperior talents, which his condition in life had happily enabled him to cultivate and improve; let me ſuppoſe him in a ſituation of rare and enviable felicity; the diſtinguiſhed object of national honour and reward; occaſionally poſſeſſed of power, permanently enjoying

enjoying opulence and admiration. Let me ſuppoſe the ſame man prepoſterouſly converting all theſe ſprings of happineſs into an abundant ſource of miſery, a prey to jealouſy, rancour, envy and malevolence. Let me ſuppoſe him endeavouring to diſtract the councils of government, becauſe he is not permitted excluſively to direct them. Let me ſuppoſe him employing thoſe talents, the right exertion of which had procured him a rich harveſt of emolument and renown, to inflame, exaſperate and divide. And laſtly, let me ſuppoſe him perfidiouſly conniving at, if not actually leagued with, an abandoned and deſperate faction, aſſociated for the purpoſe of overturning, by every ſanguinary and iniquitous ſtratagem, that very conſtitution he had ſo frequently panegyriſed, ſo aſſiduouſly improved, and ſo ſucceſsfully eſtabliſhed! To what wayward perverſion of mind, to what unaccountable dereliction of principle, is ſuch unnatural delinquency to be aſcribed? He, like Macbeth,

> . . . . . Had no ſpur,
> To prick the ſides of his intent, but only,
> Vaulting ambition, which o'erleaps itſelf,
> And falls on the other ſide.—

That this kind of ambition may ever fall, and fall with full meaſure of ignominy, muſt be the wiſh of every honeſt heart. When ſuch men forſake the paths of duty and honour, the deviation of inferiors becomes a matter of leſs aſtoniſhment. Still, however,

ever, it is not eaſy to account even for their miſconduct. Every day, it is true, produces abundant inſtances of guilt and folly. But the degree of both which actuated their proceedings admits no compariſon with the general tenour of human delinquency. To riſque my own life and property in purſuit of a favorite object, however criminal and raſh, derives ſome colour of excuſe from the right I am ſuppoſed to have of making free with my own. But to kindle the flames of civil diſcord, to incite to rapine, treachery and murder, to expoſe and endanger the lives of thouſands, for the precarious chance of an object I may never attain, and which if I do obtain, I ſhall probably but for a very ſhort time enjoy, has ſomething in it too ſhocking and horrible for a deliberate purpoſe. The power of the ſtate, whatever be the form of its government, muſt be confided to a few. Among the excluded there will neceſſarily be found many whoſe merit may entitle them to a ſhare in the adminiſtration, but who are not therefore authorized to diſpoſſeſs by violence their more fortunate competitors. The means of honeſt advancement are in ſome meaſure open to all, and opportunity of promotion, though it may be zealouſly ſought, muſt be waited with patience. Is every proud and petulant upſtart, who roars at a club, or declaims at a porter-houſe, to ſet his face againſt the laws of his country, revile her rulers, and overſet her government, becauſe he wants what thouſands more worthy than himſelf muſt aſpire to in vain? Is he to ſlight the ſubſtantial bleſſ-

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ings of industrious attainment, because he cannot decorate his brow with the wreath of power? If such principles are admitted, no constitution however perfect can exist, because no constitution however perfect will preclude, what is inseparably attached to the nature of man, discontent. The government must be bad indeed, which would justify a revolution on the modern plan of tumult, rapine, massacre and proscription. In the calm of old establishment, we discern the rock and the shore, we know what to seek and what to shun, we can ascertain the exact measure of injury and advantage; but in the storm of revolution, the vessel floats at the mercy of winds and waves, the port of rest and safety is hidden from our view, and nothing is certain but her danger. Prudence will therefore recommend Hamlet's judicious reflection, and

> Make us rather bear those ills we have,
> Than fly to others that we know not of.

I would not, however, be thought to discourage the ardour of rising genius, or damp the fair efforts of political improvement. I would only point out the rational means of attaining so desirable a purpose.—In my humble conception, reformation can never be secure and permanent, unless it be temperate and gradual. If the wise and learned of every nation, instead of wasting their ingenuity in fanciful theories, and employing their ambition in struggles for power, would apply their talents to the cultivation of useful

arts, moral improvements, and equitable regulations, there would be little to complain of on the ſcore of government. Uſeful virtue will always command reſpect, and that which has long been reſpected will, at laſt, be imitated. When a man is unhappy, only from the want of *power*, the chance is againſt his happineſs in any government. As long as I enjoy rational freedom and ſecure induſtry, the means of happineſs depend upon myſelf, the government under which I live is entitled to my ſupport, and whatever be its name and deſignation, I muſt be a fool indeed if I endeavour to change it.

For forms of Government let fools conteſt,
Whate'er is beſt adminiſter'd is beſt.

I remain &c.

LETTER IV.

THE conviction of ſome leading traitors, and the confeſſion of others, have, at length, fully and incontrovertibly demonſtrated the early exiſtence of a revolutionary conſpiracy, which, under the pretext of reforming, was to overturn the conſtitution. Adminiſtration, it now appears, was all along apprized of the deſign; and the obloquy which has been thrown upon our miniſters for oppoſing conceſſions to *Rebels* under

the name of *Reformiſts*, muſt now be converted into praiſe for their wiſe and vigilant ſuperintendance.—Meaſures of ſeverity and reſtriction, which, before we were fully apprized of the extent of our danger, might have appeared harſh and oppreſſive, are now ſeen to have been lenient and ſalutary. In this country indeed few perſons could pretend to be ignorant of the real deſigns of the United Iriſhmen; ſince the year 1795, at leaſt, they have been ſufficiently obvious: no intelligent perſon has entertained a doubt upon the ſubject. For a long time, the ſtratagems made uſe of by the conſpirators prevented any legal detection of their guilt; but as it happens in many other caſes, their criminality was not the leſs notorious for its impunity for being able to evade the formalities of a court of juſtice.

At the time that ARTHUR O'CONNOR was brought to trial in England upon charges of high treaſon, as the nature of his deſigns was no ſecret here, it was generally ſuppoſed that he could not eſcape conviction. That he might be acquitted through defect of evidence, though certainly a good fortune that was not expected to befal him, could not, however, being an event by no means uncommon, create any extraordinary ſurpriſe. That ſeveral of the moſt renowned characters in England for talents and patriotiſm, ſhould appear the *ſworn* vouchers of his loyal conduct, and conſtitutional integrity, was to every man in this country a matter of real aſtoniſhment Know-

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ing what we did, and ſuppoſing that it was equally known to others, we were at a loſs to account for ſuch blindneſs in perſons of ſuch *illumination*. We felt ourſelves reduced to this dilemma, either to ſuppoſe that his political ſponſors were as inimical to the conſtitution they profeſſed to revere, as the culprit himſelf, or, that a man whoſe diſafection was notorious to every Iriſhman of common ſenſe and obſervation, had been able to impoſe upon ſome of the moſt ſagacious and celebrated ſtateſmen in Great-Britain. We were obliged to give up their integrity, or their penetration—there was no alternative. I am well aware how far the prejudices and paſſions of party are there carried. I can very well believe that a perſon who had violently oppoſed the adherents of Mr. *Pitt*, would find, among Mr. *Fox*'s friends, a higher degree of patronage and encouragement than his real merits could pretend to. I can even ſuppoſe them deſcending ſo far as to applaud and ſtimulate that empty turbulence which their underſtandings contemned, but I confeſs I thought them incapable of going further. Though not over nice in practice, I did not expect to ſee them renounce principle. I did not ſuppoſe they would go ſo far as to ſacrifice their characters to the *manes* of their ambition. When ſhame and mortification ſtare them in the face, where will ingenuity fly for ſhelter?—It is a pitiful ſubterfuge to reſt their defence upon an eaſy faith. Credulity is ſeldom indulged but where the parties own congenial ſentiment. The caſe at beſt implies an incompetency

petency to govern, for the qualities of head and heart required to conſtitute the accompliſhed ſtateſman, would neceſſarily have precluded ſo inexcuſable a deception. We had, I am ſorry to obſerve, ſtateſmen here too, who from motives of pique and diſappointment, or from a mean and temporiſing ſpirit, declined to take an open and manly part, and either deſerted their duty altogether, like the Engliſh leaders of oppoſition, or if they appeared in their places, rather contributed to increaſe than allay the ferment. Theſe too were the all ſufficient ſtateſmen who had the modeſty to tell us that every diſcontent was aſcribable to their diſmiſſal, and that power in their hands would have been accompanied by tranquillity. To expoſe the puerile vanity of this declaration, we need only appeal to the records and acknowledgments of the rebellious union, from both which we learn that the original and fixed deſign of the confederacy was to "*ſubvert the conſtitution;*" that the ſyſtem of conceſſion and partial reform would encourage, not ſatisfy the conſpirators, and that the vigorous meaſures of the ſucceeding adminiſtration ſaved the country. In many inſtances the preſerving providence of God calls for our moſt grateful acknowledgments, and it is not among our ſmalleſt bleſſings, that the power of the ſtate was ſo ſeaſonably removed from perſons who have ſince ſhewed themſelves unequal to our protection, and unworthy of our confidence.

I remain, &c.

LETTER

LETTER V.

IN the primary conſtitution of the revolutionary project, it does not appear that religious party had any concern. A ſyſtem of government formed upon the model of French republicaniſm, whoſe object was not only to exclude religious eſtabliſhment, but religion itſelf, could not be ſuppoſed to include partialities of that nature. The artifices neceſſary for promoting inſurrection might have rendered it adviſable to have recourſe to religious paſſions and prejudices in others, but the directorial leaders, compoſed of men from every ſect, ſeem to have been entirely diveſted of any thing like pious ſentiment themſelves. In the commencement of the buſineſs, the enthuſiaſtic ſpirit was Political, in the proceſs it became in a great meaſure Religious! In truth it was impoſſible to raiſe on any other principle, (what, in the ſouth of Ireland, of which I principally ſpeak, was eſſentially neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the plan) the great body of the peaſantry conſiſts almoſt entirely of Roman Catholics: to them, conſtitutional reform, or conſtitutional revolution, being equally incomprehenſible, were equally unintereſting. Talk to a poor and ignorant peaſant of elective franchiſe, univerſal ſuffrage, or republican felicity, and though you may make him ſtare, you certainly will not make him rebel. But tell him that his *Religion*, the pride and ſolace of his exiſtence,

exiſtence, is in danger from an obnoxious ſect; tell him that in deſtroying that ſect, he will enrich himſelf and ſerve his God, and you ſpeak a language perfectly intelligible. In juſtice to the Roman Catholics it muſt be acknowledged, that however criminal they have been in the progreſs of the rebellion, they are not fairly chargeable with its origin, and that the moſt active and ſanguinary framers of the plot, were not only *Proteſtants*, but members of the eſtabliſhed church. That the minds of the loweſt claſs, ſeveral of them labouring under poverty, and all under ignorance and prejudice, were without much difficulty worked upon by the arts of ſeduction is not wonderful, but the too general diſaffection of the better ſort, who had neither ignorance nor poverty to plead in extenuation of treſpaſs, deſerves more ſevere reprehenſion. The perſons to whom I now allude belong to the middle claſs, being compoſed of ſubſtantial landholders, profeſſional men and merchants, whoſe defection is the more inexcuſable from having found no countenance or encouragement in the conduct of thoſe to whom they ſhould have looked for example, the reſpectable heads of the ancient and opulent Roman Catholic houſes. To the very loyal and honorable demeanor of theſe, among whom, in this province, the noble VISCOUNT of KENMARE ſtands highly diſtinguiſhed, every acknowledgment is due, while, as far as I have been able to obſerve, the reproach of ſedition and conſpiracy, belongs to the vanity of the *Upſtart*. It is an obſervation confirmed by long experience,

perience, that *vulgar minds are unable to bear prosperity*. To ſuch, a ſudden elevation of rank or fortune, conveys an intoxicating quality, inducing a perſuaſion, that rapidity of advancement is owing to pre-eminence of merit. The ſons of land-jobbers and farmers, taylors, and ſhoe-makers; of retailers of beer, and ſellers of ſnuff, the perſevering and ſucceſsful induſtry of whoſe fathers (no ſlight proof by the bye, of a benign government) had by raiſing them to the rank of gentry, ſpoiled many an uſeful mechanic, became forſooth Politicians and Reformers. With no letter of recommendation but an unbluſhing front, with no other knowledge or information, than what the flimſy and inſolent pages of *Tom Paine* afforded, they ſat in judgment on the conduct of miniſters, arraigned every meaſure of adminiſtration with more than parliamentary licenſe, and from revilers, by a very natural gradation, became revolutioniſts. When ſuch men, overſtepping the modeſty of nature, and the limits of propriety, threw over their clumſy limbs the ſenatorial robe, when ſuch braying beaſts affected the roar and aſſumed the garb of the Lord of the foreſt, who could help exclaiming with *Conſtance*, in King *John*,

> Thou wear a lion's hide! doff it for ſhame,
> And hang a calve-ſkin on thoſe recreant limbs.

Theſe too, for perverſion is the characteriſtic of the preſent time, were the perſons who had leaſt reaſon to complain. Excluſion from parliamentary honours and a few high offices of ſtate, can be conſidered

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as a grievance only by thoſe whoſe talents and ſituation allow them to aſpire to ſuch an height. Of this excluſion the reſpectable perſons before-mentioned might with ſome colour of propriety complain. But if *they* did not conſider it a ſufficient cauſe for quarrel with the conſtitution under which they enjoyed every other favour; If *they* did not conſider it a juſtifiable pretext for overturning or even villifying the eſtabliſhed government, ſtill leſs ſhould it appear ſo to their inferiors, the recent improvement of whoſe condition, ought, were they duly ſenſible of their obligation, to have rivetted their attachment to the ſource of their proſperity. Far be it from me, however, to involve all the members of this claſs in an undiſtinguiſhing cenſure. That ſeveral among them did preſerve a fixed and grateful ſenſe of their allegiance, I am truly happy to acknowledge. We ſaw them in our brave Militia gallantly fighting in defence of their King and Country; we beheld them in the ranks of our glorious Yeomanry, emulating the ardour of their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects; we ſaw them remaining firm upon their poſts in the hour of danger and diſtreſs, while others, even where through fear they profeſſed friendſhip, made any trivial avocation an excuſe for abſence, and ſkulking into holes and corners, deſerted their duty. At ſuch a criſis the ill-affected alone could hang back. When aſpiring candidates contend for the repreſentation of a county, when the queſtion is, whether the influence of this or that great man ſhall preponderate at the caſtle, the ſucceſs of either party may be a ſource of ſolicitude, or a mat-

ter of indifference. But when the diſpute concern not the adminiſtration of government, but its exiſtence, when the bloody ſword of civil war is unſheathed and the battle raging between the rebel and the loyaliſt, there can be no neutrality.—The queſtion comes home to every man—his life, his property, his deareſt intereſts are at ſtake—unleſs incapable of feeling, he cannot be indifferent to the iſſue—his wiſhes or his exertions muſt be on one ſide, and if he is not *for* the government he muſt be *againſt* it. Few therefore were impoſed upon by the diſſimulation of the concealed enemy, whoſe very countenances betrayed the ſecret wiſhes of the heart, and in which could be even read the intelligence of the day. When ſome brilliant ſucceſs of his Majeſty's arms was announced, chagrin and diſappointment were plainly diſcoverable under an affected enjoyment of the triumph; whilſt the ſparkling eye, and ſcarce ſuppreſſed ſmile atteſted the inward ſatisfaction derived from the report of any circumſtance favourable to the rebel cauſe. Will you believe that in this deſcription truth obliges me to comprehend ſome members of the eſtabliſhed church, ſome, who poſſeſſing every comfort of life, and every conſtitutional advantage, wanted even the ſhallow pretence of political grievance as diſcouragement, and whoſe defection, as unaccountable as it was baſe, though it may eſcape legal puniſhment, will be branded with perpetual deteſtation. To me, I confeſs, duplicity in ſuch a cauſe appears more odious than open defiance. The man who draws his ſword againſt my life, by the fair

declaration

declaration of his intent, puts me on my guard and gives me at leaſt an opportunity of preparing for my defence. But where ſhall one find a ſhield againſt the dagger of the aſſaſſin, who ſmiles in order to betray, and holds out an offer of co-operation during the day, that he may with more ſecurity ſtab in the night. It is one of the benevolent purpoſes of Providence, to make our very tranſgreſſions turn to our advantage, and out of evil to elicit good. The miſconduct here reprobated will I truſt be productive of a twofold benefit. The perſons I ſpeak of, will learn to moderate their paſſions, and ſubdue their vanity; by confining themſelves within their proper ſpheres, and directing their views to ſuitable objects, they will eſcape the mortifying diſappointments of a prepoſterous ambition, and endeavour to poſſeſs in happy contentment, the ſubſtantial, if not ſplendid, enjoyments of middle life. Happy indeed will they be, if from the eventful period of 1798 they ſhall both learn and practice ſo valuable a leſſon! Nor will they alone be the gainers. Government alſo will learn, a point of no ſmall importance at any time, to diſtinguiſh more accurately its true friends. Inſtead of being taken by profeſſions, which coſt nothing, it will ground its judgment of men upon the true teſt of merit and good conduct. It will accord to every deſcription of ſubjects, protection of perſon, and encouragement of induſtry, but it will commit the poſſeſſion of power to thoſe only in whoſe political principles the moſt ſecure reliance can be placed.

I remain, &c.

LETTER VI.

THERE is yet another deſcription of perſons in the Roman Catholic body above the lower rank of life, whoſe too general attachment to the *Rebel* cauſe is as much to be lamented as it is hard to be accounted for, I mean the clergy. They too had recently experienced the kind and liberal hand of government. They had been relieved from burdens and reſtrictions which a ſevere but neceſſary policy had inflicted, and it was hardly to be expected that they would be the firſt to juſtify that policy, by making the opportunity of ſhewing their gratitude, an occaſion to diſplay their diſaffection. Gratitude indeed is a virtue, which though ſometimes adorning humanity in the individual, is ſeldom found to grace it in the aggregate. Societies for the moſt part are directed by the general advantage of the body, with but too little regard to juſtice or generoſity, and from the national aſſembly down to the municipal corporation, the ruling principle is—Intereſt. In their *collective* capacity, Prieſts, I believe, will generally be found to act like other men. But what intereſt could have ſuggeſted the line of conduct now under reprobation, it is not very eaſy to conceive. Were they induced to ſecond the French deſign of ſubjugating this kingdom by the *piety* of the invaders? Whence aroſe the ſudden violence of their attachment to the Gallic Directory? Was it becauſe they inſulted, robbed, and at length depoſed the venerable head of the Roman church?

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Was it because they punished with death or banishment every priest in France who dared to oppose their impious views, or who refused to renounce his religious principles? Was it because they traduced, ridiculed, and endeavoured to abolish the Catholic religion itself? In the invading party there was nothing extremely inviting to the clerical character, and the principles of the Irish revolution were altogether as forbidding. Abolition of tithes and annihilation of church establishment were leading features of the new plan, so that though their Protestant rivals might lose by the revolution, they, as priests, had certainly nothing to gain. The negative side of the question admits less difficulty. It is easy to see the motives by which they were *not* actuated. It certainly was not a conscientious regard to their vows of allegiance to a mild and gracious Sovereign. It certainly was not a pious regard for the temporal as well as eternal happiness of the flocks committed to their charge, both of which would be much better consulted by inculcating peace and subordination. Whatever kingdom they looked too in the event of their success, it certainly was not the kingdom of heaven, which the divine author of christianity declares shall reward the benignant spirit of the peace-makers.

You will say, my friend, that I am too severe in reprobating a whole body for the misconduct of some of its members: and that although it cannot be denied that several priests took a very active part in the rebellion, the conduct of far the greater number was dutiful

dutiful and loyal. That ſome of them conducted themſelves in a laudable and exemplary manner, I am happy to teſtify, and I ſincerely hope that the ſame may be ſafely affirmed of the majority. The Rt. Rev. Biſhop that preſides over the Catholics of this dioceſe, would do honour to any church, and adorn any ſtation, and his example and exertions are not without imitation. But the names of ſo many Reverend Fathers, appear openly on the rebel liſt in the counties where hoſtilities actually took place, and the names of ſo many others are found among the ſuſpected in counties where rebellion was prevented from raiſing its head, that I fear it will be difficult to reduce the cenſure from the aggregate to the individual. Indeed it is almoſt impoſſible to conceive that the principles of rebellious combination could have ſpread with ſuch extenſive and miſchievous rapidity among the peaſants if checked and controuled by the remonſtrances and exhortations of thoſe ſpiritual directors, to whom they are accuſtomed to unfold their deepeſt ſecrets, and to whoſe admonitions in every point of moral and religious concern, they pay a ſcrupulous regard. Whence was the peaſant taught that he was fighting for his religion, and earning by his fall, the crown of immortality? Theſe ardent and invigorating ſentiments were not derived from the Iriſh Directory, who, whatever enthuſiaſm they might poſſeſs or inſtill, borrowed no ſpark of it from celeſtial fire. Unable to account for conduct apparently ſo prepoſterous, I muſt leave their Reverences to explain for themſelves. It has, indeed,

been

been ſuggeſted that they, as well as ſeveral others who ſubſequently joined the Union, entertained views very different from thoſe of the Directorial leaders, who might in reality have been labouring for others at the very time they ſo fondly fancied that every thing was conſpiring to the exaltation of themſelves. Many who appeared like Jackalls, catering for the Dublin lions, were, it is ſhrewdly ſuſpected, hunting only their own prey. Did (it is aſked) Father Murphy, who gallantly headed his invulnerable legions, oppoſing the ſhield of faith to the balls of Heretics, wield the blood-ſtained ſword only—to exalt Napper Tandy and Thomas Emmett? Was it for the honour and emolument of an *infidel* Directory, that the *Catholic* became a church militant? All revolutioniſts agree in the beginning, becauſe all have a common enemy in the eſtabliſhed government. The ſword which deſtroys that common enemy, cuts at the ſame time the gordian knot of their union. The power of the ſtate is open to all and who ſhall limit the right of commonage. The only appeal is to the ſword, and it is not until after many a bloody fray, that the deciſive ſuperiority of one faction, by putting an end to the exiſtence of its rivals, puts an end to the conteſt. Whoſe would have been the final ſucceſs upon this occaſion, it is impoſſible to judge, but from the diſcordant nature of the parties compoſing the confederacy, one may confidently pronounce, what has been already obſerved of the Rebel leaders, that, they would be more ſeverely puniſhed by their ſucceſs, than they have been by their diſappointment.

I remain, &c.

LETTER VII.

THE ample and authentic information we now poſſeſs, enables us to calculate, with a conſiderable degree of preciſion, the true ſtrength of the confederacy, in its three principal means of ſupport. The Talents, the Property, and the Number of the conſpirators. In the laſt of theſe only does it ſeem to me to have preſented any thing extremely formidable. The plan was certainly framed with art, and carried on with ſecrecy, and among the ſeveral conducters of the buſineſs, is to be found no doubt much of that cunning, artifice, and ſtratagem, which ſimilar occaſions never fail to produce. But I ſurely do not flatter the loyaliſts by declaring that, in the balance of compariſon, the *abilities* exerted againſt them, were light and inſignificant indeed! To whatever rank, ſtation, or profeſſion we look, it is a matter of joyful and conſolatory reflection to find their wiſeſt, as well as their beſt members, ardently engaged in ſupport of our political eſtabliſhment. That talents have been diſplayed upon the oppoſite ſide, I do not deny, but they were for the moſt part the talents of youth, unaccompanied by judgment or reflection. They were the talents of perſons, whoſe knowledge had never been matured by experience, and whoſe ability was exceeded by their arrogance.

In point of property, the conteſt between the friends of the conſtitution and its enemies, was ſtill greater

greater. Rebellion, with its promiſed harveſt of plunder and confiſcation, naturally accomodates itſelf to perſons of reduced or deſperate fortunes, to men who have little, and who deſire much, who love to ſpend, but hate to earn. They who poſſeſs the comforts of life, lend a reluctant ear to any propoſal that ſeems likely to injure or endanger them. A wayward ambition, it is true, will ſometimes induce men to riſque the poſſeſſion of certain happineſs, becauſe unaccompanied by power, for the hope of greater felicity in a ſtate more exalted. To this motive we may attribute the defection of ſeveral, who at the commencement of the conſpiracy, appeared ſatisfied with their lot, and averſe to the hazards of innovation. Some too, of timid and waving diſpoſition, deſerted the royal party, under the apprehenſion of its weakneſs, and ſought protection or indemnity beneath the ſtandard of rebellion. But the number of theſe is trifling indeed, compared with thoſe who acted upon different principles, and under different circumſtances. Among the higher ranks of inſurgents, we find the preponderating inducements to have been, political diſappointment, and diſtreſſed circumſtances; among the lower orders, religious animoſity and the hope of plunder. With reſpect to property therefore, though ſome opulent perſons appear among the conſpirators, we may ſafely affirm the advantage to have been, beyond all degree of competition, on the ſide of Government.

In point of numbers, rebellion could certainly boaſt its ſtanding upon more equal grounds. Per-

haps we may even allow that at one time, the rebels and their adherents were more numerous than the loyal party. The friends of revolution, however, have little cauſe to pride themſelves on a circumſtance which any other kind of general tumult or diſturbance would as effectually have occaſioned. They are much miſtaken, indeed, if they attribute the number of their popular followers, to an enlarged knowledge of conſtitutional rights, or a deliberate preference of republican government. It is ignorance, not information that urges our half-barbarous peaſantry to riot and inſurrection; it is not civilization, but the want of it, that renders them the eaſy dupes of every ſeditious incendiary. Great, however, as their numbers may be, their real ſtrength under a government of vigour and deciſion, muſt be always trifling. Want of diſcipline, want of co-operation, and the difficulty of ſubſiſtence in large bodies, will always render them an eaſy conqueſt. Mobs are alſo proverbially verſatile. The object of their veneration, eaſily becomes that of their hate, and the cauſe they eſpouſe to-day may be reprobated and abandoned to-morrow. Under theſe circumſtances, I confeſs, that I felt leſs apprehenſion for the event of the conteſt, than the alarming circumſtances of our apparent ſituation ſeemed frequently to warrant. I knew that the popular ferment, which artifice might riſe, could not, without ſuch a degree of foreign aid as ſeemed very unlikely to arrive, long be kept afloat, and that temporary evil, and private calamity, would be the worſt conſequences of the inſurrection.

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I have beſtowed upon our common people an epithet which I could wiſh that ſubſequent reflection would allow me to retract. You, and I, can certainly bear witneſs to a very conſiderable improvement in their appearance, their manners, and their induſtry. We can remember when among the lower orders, ſhoes and ſtockings were no common luxury, when their underſtandings were clouded by exceſs of ignorance and ſuperſtition, and when idleneſs and riot were the moſt prominent marks of their character.—The late improvement in agriculture, (ſtill very defective) the increaſe of trade, the commencement of manufactures, and the natural advancement of ſocial comfort under a regular and enlightened government, have conſiderably meliorated their condition, and humanized their manners. For whatever the arrogant ſpeculatiſt may pretend, the reformation of a people cannot be the work of a day. It requires the long and patient exertions of wiſdom, to alter a national character, to inform ignorance, to eradicate prejudices, and to overcome habits. Though within the laſt thirty years, it muſt be acknowledged, that much has been done, it is equally certain that much remains to do. To thoſe, who like us are acquainted with the diſpoſitions, the cuſtoms, and the modes of life, of a people, among whom we have for ſo many years almoſt continually reſided, it is unneceſſary to enter into a minute delineation of character. The records of the paſſing day will amply ſuffice to convince the ſtranger that their propenſity to idleneſs and riot is not yet ſubdued, and that, of the barbarity which has ſo long been lamented, too many traces

unfortunately ſtill remain. Of ſuch a people it is idle to ſay that they are to be reclaimed by indulgence, or won by conceſſion. Injudicious indulgence is the nurſe of miſchief in old as well as young: truants and unſeaſonable conceſſion, is conſidered as ariſing not from love but from fear. Let good conduct be treated with all the kindneſs it deſerves, but viſciouſneſs and intemperance muſt be puniſhed and reſtrained by neceſſary ſeverity and ſalutary rigor.

I remain, &c.

LETTER VIII.

WITH all juſt abhorrence of cruelty and outrage, I can make great allowance for the exceſſes of our miſguided peaſantry. The ſeductive artifices by which they were inſtigated, might have deluded a people of greater ſteadineſs, and higher information.—Juſtice too requires me to acknowledge, that ſeveral of thoſe who engaged in the conſpiracy, entered into the ſervice, leſs moved by the hope of gain, than the fear of puniſhment, for it was aſſiduouſly inculcated, that every man who refuſed to participate would be treated as an enemy. In every country revolution will have ſome friends, becauſe in every country, poverty will more or leſs be found, and the wretched naturally welcomes any change which promiſes to better his condition. In this kingdom, indigence alone

alone might have procured among the peasantry many proselytes to rebellion. The general causes of that indigence deserve to be noticed. They are in a great measure owing to a wrong system of Tenantship, which certainly may, and I trust gradually will be removed, but which certainly is by no means imputable to the incompetency or imperfections of Government. The main office of Government is to take care that Justice be impartially administered. To administration belongs the *protection* of of Industry, but the free *exercise* of it must be left to individuals. The authority which forbids me to injure another man's property, allows me to make what use I please of my own. It will oblige a man to be just, but cannot compel him to be generous. The possessor of an estate, might and ought to consult the comforts of his tenantry by directing and encouraging their industry, but if unfortunately he should chuse to take a contrary part, it is not in Governmen to remedy the evil. It is very clear that £20000 would be infinitely more valuable laid out in business than locked up in a chest, yet it would be wrong in Government to compel the owner to make even a good use of it, not only because such a power would be frequently abused, but because no man will labour to obtain wealth which he is not permitted to enjoy according to his own fancy. The system of which I complain, and which appears to me the material grievance of our Peasantry, arises, from the short, uncertain, and insecure tenure under which their little farms are commonly held. The rents too

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for the moſt part are, conſidering the imperfect ſtate of huſbandry, too high, not allowing the occupyer means of comfortable ſubſiſtance. What warmth of attachment can the Peaſant feel for that Country, in which the moſt unremitting labour will ſcarce ſuffice to procure him ſuſtenance, and where, ſhould extraordinary exertions be crowned with ſucceſs, the fruits of his toil ſerve only to enrich his taſk-maſters. Many of our occupyers are mere tenants at will, ſubject to the avarice or caparice of a Landlord, who ſeldom ſcruples to turn him adrift, in order to make room for a perſon more ſolvent or more ſubmiſſive. Many of our Landed Proprietors, however benevolent, live at too great a diſtance, to know or relieve the ſituation of their Tenantry. Too many of thoſe that live among them are addicted to pleaſures, and in the diſtreſs occaſioned by their own extravagance, loſe ſight of their ſuffering dependants. Hence has ariſen the ſyſtem of *middle* Landlordſhip, the pernicious conſequences of which, though long felt, are not yet entirely removed. To take a coarſe and uncultivated tract for the purpoſe of improvement, and afterwards to let it at an advanced rent, I conſider to be fair profit and uſeful exertion, but it is not uncommon to ſee perſons pay thouſands per annum in rent, who never tilled a field, raiſed a hedge, or built a houſe, who uninduſtrious themſelves, derive, like Negro-drivers an income from the ſweat of the Poor, by whoſe labour they are enriched, but in whoſe happineſs they feel no intereſt. This ſtate of degredation, if it did not generate, at

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leaſt encouraged that propenſity to theft which has ſo long been the reproach of our common people. A Peaſant, whoſe uncertainty of poſſeſſion permits not the planting of a Tree on his own ground, if he wants a handle for his ſpade or a twig for his baſket, watches an opportunity of ſtealing from his more fortunate neighbour, that neceſſary implement which perhaps he is unable to purchaſe. A vice once eſtabliſhed becomes difficult to remove, and he frequently carries with him, to an improved ſituation, the evil habit which originated in neceſſity. While I lament the exiſtence of a ſyſtem ſo pregnant with miſchief, I muſt acknowledge with pleaſure that of late, it has been rapidly declining. Landed Proprietors began to ſee, that it was not only diſgraceful and calamitous to the country, but materially injurious to themſelves, who became in fact only rent chargers on their own eſtates. A more liberal plan in conſequence was adopted, and ſeveral of the great Proprietors, rejecting the interference of *middle men*, ſtimulated at once and rewarded the induſtry of the farmer, by making him a leaſe of his holding, at even lower rents than the farmer would have given. A flouriſhing and induſtrious Yeomanry conſtitute the true ſtrength of a Country, and though in this kingdom they are the claſs of inhabitants moſt to be wiſhed for, they have been the claſs moſt wanted. Among them will always be found the firmeſt friends of eſtabliſhment, becauſe order and tranquillity are eſſentially neceſſary to their welfare. Ambition diſturbs not the happy mediocrity of their ſituation, and forms

forms of Government, or ſquabbles for power, excite no emotion in thoſe, who only look for ſecurity and protection. I will not ſay that this obſervation has been ſtrictly exemplified in this Rebellion, becauſe when religion mixes in the diſpute, the ordinary motives of action ceaſe to operate. But it is certain that they were the laſt to engage in it, and the moſt difficult to be influenced. They alſo have been the greateſt ſufferers. The rich could ſpare from his ſuperfluity, and the poor, in ſaving his life, has ſaved his all. But where rebellion raged, the farmer has to lament the loſs of his comforts and the fruits of his induſtry. I truſt that all ſuch as liſtened too fondly to the voice of the betrayer, have ſeen their error and become ſenſible of their folly, and I truſt alſo that the gentry of this country, will hereafter turn a more aſſiduous attention to the encouragement of the peaſant, and the improvement of agriculture. How much is it to be lamented that the wanton ſpeculations of ambitious vanity ſhould engroſs the general attention, while ſo many uſeful as well as pleaſant objects of purſuit, remain neglected and forgotten! To country-gentlemen a farm will never fail to afford moſt healthful exerciſe; and moſt rational employment, accompanied by the delightful conſciouſneſs, that while amuſing himſelf, he is a material benefactor to his country. In town, a variety of laudable ſtudies and profitable occupations ſolicit the exertion of curioſity and abilities. Chymiſtry and natural philoſophy offer their inexhauſtible fund of recreation and knowledge. Architecture invites the accommodation

modation of the opulent and the taste of the artist.—Commerce and Manufacture afford to the enterprizing the means of enriching themselves, and giving subsistence and happiness to thousands. Of all human aims the pursuit of power is perhaps the most barren of remuneration. Few, very few ever compleatly attain their object, and those that do, experience I believe very frequently the fate of Ixion. They embrace a cloud instead of a goddess, and find their enjoyment to be far more visionary than substantial. But politics are the rage of the day, and untill the fervor subsides, the calm voice of reason will plead unnoticed.

In pursuing this subject I have far exceeded the limits I proposed to myself, yet still find that much remains to be said. Among other matters the relative situation of this Country with England suggests a fertile topic of discussion. I have long been of opinion that the connection of two empires, by a Crown alone, with distinct independent houses of parliament, had something in it awkward and prepostrous, and which could not fail to be a fruitful source of jealousy and discord. *Imperium in Imperio* is allowed to be a soliciſm in polities. Scotland and Ireland, for in this case, a river or a channel makes no difference, should be independent kingdoms or integral parts of one empire. Nominal independence may be more flattering to national pride, but true glory, as well as strength will be found in union. We have the

ſanction of example to direct us. Scotland has tried the experiment and ſucceeded, Difficulties no doubt occur, but I ſhould hope not inſurmountable. You have already ſo encouraged me by your approbation, that I may, perhaps, ſend you my thoughts on this as well as other ſubjects of national concern. It is no ſmall preſumption, I confeſs, to treat of matters ſo much beyond my depth, but I am comforted by this reflection, that though I contribute little to the general ſtock of uſeful information, I ſhall at leaſt add nothing to that of turbulence and diſcontent, and that if I do no good, I ſhall at leaſt eſcape the imputation of doing harm.

I remain, &c.

FINIS.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROJECTED UNION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, AND THE INEXPEDIENCY OF AGITATING THE MEASURE AT THIS TIME.

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1798.

THOUGHTS

ON AN

UNION,

&c. &c.

ARGUMENTS on political ſubjects are always more indeciſive, and produce leſs conviction, than on any of thoſe theoretick ſubjects, which the combining power of the human mind can frame for diſcuſſion. The human paſſions are ever more deeply engaged in them—Thus that cool deliberation is deſtroyed, which is ſo neceſſary to judgment. Party-ſpirit, and the fatal power of *influence* interfere; candour is thereby ſhut out from the debate; intereſt often and generally

generally claſhes with policy. Falſe concluſions are therefore the reſult of the diſcuſſion; pride, vanity, falſe opinions, the power of prejudice, the want of fixed principles, the fear of conſequences, the impreſſions received from the hiſtory of the laſt ten years—every thing that can diſtort or blindfold our judgment in the diſcuſſion of political ſubjects, has in its turn it's individual weight, and nothing but cool deliberation, and a cloſe inveſtigation of the ſecret motives which actuate parties, can prevent error in our concluſions.

Never did a moment occur, in which this leſſon was more neceſſary than at the cloſe of the year 1798; never did the danger of precipitancy appear more formidable; never did ſo many cauſes unite at one time to throw obſtacles in the way of fair diſcuſſion; and yet, ſuch is the time, when the Iriſh nation is called on to determine on a ſubject of unmeaſured magnitude and importance.

The propoſition, which thoſe, who are entruſted with his Majeſty's Government in Ireland, openly avow, as being amongſt the firſt, on which the Iriſh Parliament will be called to debate, is one, that embraces

embraces every national concern at once; the public mind is agitated, and, I fear, is inflamed by it. If ſuch is really the caſe, the meaſure will be adopted with indiſcreet and indiſcriminating haſte, or rejected with intemperance—unweighed and unvalued.

The chief object of the following pages is to ſhew, that the preſent ſtate of Ireland is ill calculated for the impartial diſcuſſion of a ſubject of ſuch national importance, and to point the public attention to ſome of thoſe conſiderations, which muſt ariſe in the diſcuſſion and previous arrangement, and which ſhould be well and calmly weighed, before the hour of deciſion comes. The difficulty of determining the queſtion at once, which the writer is anxious to impreſs upon the minds of others, and the various ſubjects for previous conſideration, which muſt occur, ſhould deter a judgment more acute, and a mind more enlighten'd than his, from giving that haſty opinion, which it is his endeavour to prevent others from forming.

The ſecret and deep laid plans of republicaniſm, which have been fatally ſucceſsful in winning ſo many

many thouſands from their allegiance, have during the laſt ſummer months rendered Ireland a miſerable ſpectacle of deſolation, murder and rapine. The ſtandard of rebellion has been ſeen in every province, and in every county. A war, not of political controverſy but of bloody animoſity, was raged againſt the peaceable inhabitants as well as the ſoldiers of royalty—Scenes, ſo freſh in the eye of every man, need not to be deſcribed; it is enough to ſay that every inſtitution, which had the defence of the conſtitution and the protection of the country for its foundation, was the object of deſtruction. The effects produced by a ſtate of unceaſing alarm and danger, and the daily detail of bloody actions with the rebel armies—by the deſolation and ruin, which every where threatened us, and by the terrors of an approaching winter—were viſible to every eye. A dejection and wearineſs of body and mind—an apathy in ſome—deſpondence in others—and paſſion and reſentment in the reſt. In which of thoſe claſſes would philoſophy find a habitation? Is it when the human mind is in a ſtate of political as well as natural debility, that its energies are to be brought to the teſt? is it when the fretfulneſs and irritation, or the lethargy and liſtleſsneſs, which

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are attendant on the fever, under which the nation has ſuffered for ſeveral months paſt—is it when theſe have their fulleſt influence, that a ſubject is laid before it, which would require the moſt active energies of the mind to examine and decide upon it? Will the nation forget its own illneſs—and undertake a taſk adapted only to the vigour of health? Is it to the bed of ſickneſs and debility, that an intricate and difficult examination of a complex and abſtruſe queſtion ſhould be brought? How often have the arrangements, which have been thus made between man and man—been annulled by our Courts of Equity?

If it is poſſible by ringing the alarm to rouſe the public to an examination of the cauſe—before the mode of action ſhall be reſolved on—If it is poſſible to check that impetuoſity, which hurries to decide, before reaſon has been conſulted—the nation may reap advantages, but cannot ſuffer injury by the delay.

An Union between Great Britain and Ireland is ſo comprehenſive in its effects on the latter, that the avowal of the meaſure cannot but create uncommon agitation in the public mind. It engages our feelings and

and implicates our intereſts both as individuals and as a nation. It will be irrevocable in its conſequences. Its effects are not temporary but permanent. Its operation is not limited in its extent or duration, but embraces the whole nation and poſterity. Not partial in its action, but general in its influence. Every conſideration of pride and intereſt—of property and profeſſion—of national dignity and private conſequence—of ſpeculative enterprize—and eſtabliſhed modes of trade—all come within the coloſſal ſtride of this projected meaſure.

And on ſuch an occaſion will this nation yield at once to firſt impreſſions? Will the nation liſten with gaping folly to the frothy, or the arrogant, or the inſidious arguments of thoſe who would hurry them in one inſtant to embrace with childiſh haſte, or to reject with ſullen obſtinacy a meaſure ſo momentous? Is this nation to be pamphletized out of its own judgment?

And who is he, whoſe philoſophic eye can at one glance, ſee the ſubject in all its conſequences immediate and remote?—Who is he, that will tell this nation with all the pedantry of an academick, or all the hankering prejudices of an alien—that

Ireland

Ireland can derive from the adoption of the meaſure nothing but benefits—national proſperity and individual advantage—religious ſecurity and a more dignified repreſentation?—Who is he, that will tell you that if you embrace the meaſure, even under any modification, you will be the murderer of national honor and proſperity—and the curſe of your poſterity? Is it in the *ipſe dixits* of an official writer, that we ſhall find a clue to lead our judgments? Is it in the hypocondriac terrors of an alarmiſt, that we ſhall read the leſſon of caution? Let us rather diveſt our minds of blind confidence, and of falſe fears. Let us examine with ſtrictneſs, but not with partiality. Let us debate with calmneſs—liſtening to the arguments of thoſe, who ſpeak from deliberation, not from party; and weighing the conclusions, which flow from the hypotheſis of other men, let us deliberate thereon in private, and argue in public; and from the general fund, which is formed of the opinions of calm and ſenſible enquirers, let one determination be adopted. By ſuch a mode of proceeding the general good will not be the ſufferer.

I cannot but think it ſtrange, that his Majeſty's Miniſters in this kingdom, have not, in the avowal

of the meaſure, ſtated any outline, by which the nation might be guided in its previous deliberation, before the parliament ſhall have met. It is ſtrange, that the public attention has not been called to the terms, on which the union between the two kingdoms is intended to be framed. It is ſtrange, that in this avowal of the meaſure, no official communication has been conſidered as neceſſary, to the commercial part of the metropolis, or of the kingdom.

My moſt firm belief is, that it is by no means the wiſh or intention of the Engliſh Cabinet to force the meaſure, or to be heedleſs of the voice of this nation, ſhould that voice be againſt it. I condemn that readineſs to impute ill motives to thoſe, who ſent an Engliſh army into Ireland,—nor do I give any credit to the aſſertion, that the object of that force was, not to repel a foreign enemy or ſubdue a domeſtick one, but to overawe the kingdom into a compliance with the will of the Engliſh Cabinet, Thoſe who wiſh to ſeparate Ireland from Great Britain, are the worſt enemies this nation has to encounter. Nature has linked the two kingdoms together by ſo many ties, that a ſeparation would be a convulſion, fatal perhaps to both.—And wicked

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muſt that ſpirit be, which would wiſh for the ſake of experiment, to riſque the happineſs, nay the exiſtence of his country.

Many of thoſe, who have delivered their ſentiments on the ſubject of an Union, ſeem to me to injure the diſcuſſion, by aſſuming certain data, the exiſtence of which is almoſt as much a matter of controverſy as the main queſtion itſelf. One writer builds his little argument on a foundation, which is ſapped by general opinion. He reſts his ſuperſtructure on this unlevelled baſis, "that two "independent ſtates, finding their ſeparate exiſ- "tence mutually inconvenient, propoſe to form "themſelves into one ſtate for their mutual be- "nefit."—If this hypotheſis be true, would it not have been worth his labour, to have wrought a conviction of its truth in the minds of a doubting nation?—How like the Cretan, who paſſed Ætna by to view the volcano in Lipari.

The analogy, which is ſought for in the reference to ancient ſtates, or even to thoſe more modern, will produce but little advantage to the adducer. Examples of this kind are, in almoſt every inſtance, found to exiſt between ſtates at war and enmity with each

each other, and whose relative situations and jarring interests excluded the probability of a lasting peace. Where an Union takes place between nations so circumstanced, no force of argument can be drawn from thence analogous to the question now before us;—and for this reason, that in those instances no alternative was left to either but a continual war, or an unlimited, inseparable, unconditional Union—not so much an union of the nations, as of the people. No previous arrangement of the terms—no inequality of interests—no limitation of benefits—no distinction of rights were to be argued and adjusted—were to be enrolled and preserved as land-marks to ascertain separate estates to either nation. In the Swiss Cantons I see nothing that can be quoted with effect, except in the insignificant instance of the country of the Grisons. One example indeed, and a familiar one, seems to come near the question now before us, and has been introduced by others.—I allude to the union of Scotland with England. In the secret history of the instruments and means, by which that event was accomplished, the enquirer will find much to guide him on this occasion. He will there read, what were the separate views of each nation—what were their motives,

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and what were their objects. He will see how far the general good was purſued, how far partial advantage was ſought after,—he will ſee what was left undone, as well as what was finiſhed. "There is," ſays Bolingbroke, "in every ſtate meaſure, an avowed reaſon and a reſerved motive."

At the commencement of the 18th century, Scotland laboured under many inconveniencies and diſadvantages, which Ireland is not expoſed to. Beſides the unity of the two Crowns being loſt, Scotland had a conſtitution by no means like to that of England, and far, very far inferior to it. By her incorporation with England, her conſtitution received many great improvements,—much yet remains to be improved and corrected. Here no ſimilarity can be found with Ireland. It is not in the theory of our conſtitution that we can reap advantage by an Union with Britain.—In the practice let it be ſought:—Wiſdom may find employment there.

I confeſs that it appears to me to be a matter of no ſerious import to Ireland, to learn the ſecret motives of England in ſeeking the accompliſhment of

of this project. Grant, that she seeks her own aggrandizement by it.—Grant, that it is not the interests and prosperity of Ireland which are her object, but her own power and security.—Grant that the advantages which must accrue to her, far outweigh those which Ireland can derive from the adoption of the measure.—Yet, if by an incorporation of the two nations, Ireland will receive considerable benefits—and no losses or sacrifices are to follow to counterbalance those benefits, why should she with envious churlishness deny herself advantages, because that which will bring them to her will bring greater to England? I am firmly persuaded, that were the two nations connected by an Union formed without dishonorable partiality, that each would ultimately benefit by every advantage of the other. The great difficulty is so to frame that Union, that Disunion be not the consequence. On the previous arrangements, on their security, and the wisdom of their formation, (should the measure be adopted) depend the happiness of Ireland.

The imperious necessity of caution and deliberate examination, should never for a moment be forgotten. If the advantages resulting to Ireland from

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an incorporation with England are not outweighed by the ſacrifices ſhe muſt make, and that the wiſh of the nation is, that that incorporation ſhall take effect,—let a ſecurity be had, that theſe advantages be not fleeting or revocable, whilſt our ſacrifices are permanent and irrevocable.—Let a ſecurity be had, that when the power of reviſion is gone, the neceſſity of reviſing be not left behind.—Let a ſecurity be had, that when an unanimity of the Iriſh Repreſentatives in the Britiſh Parliament would point out the injurious and unfair tendency of any meaſure to the kingdom which they repreſent, that unanimity may have the power to refiſt it with effect. The eye need not wander far to find an example of the neceſſity of this caution.—Let a ſecurity be had, that the Iriſh Repreſentatives in the Britiſh Senate cannot become the inſtruments of a Britiſh party in that Senate.—Let a ſecurity be had, that the election of Iriſh Repreſentatives to ſerve in a Britiſh Senate, be not under the influence of a Britiſh Miniſter.—Let a ſecurity be had, that the articles of Union be not infringed.—Let a ſecurity be had, where prudence may ſuggeſt and expediency require it.

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It is intended, I am told, that on every queſtion which relates to Ireland alone, the Iriſh repreſentatives alone are to decide on it. If this be true, I doubt not but the framer of that modification had the intereſt of Ireland for his object. But I conceive any queſtion of moment ſo excluſively relating to Ireland alone, that no direct or indirect intereſt of England can be involved in it. If ſo, it will be no difficult matter to exclude the operation of ſuch a clauſe on almoſt every poſſible occaſion.

That which is termed national dignity, ſeems to me to be as little underſtood, as it has been greatly miſapplied on the preſent occaſion. Where two kingdoms have but one Crown, yet ſeparate legiſlatures; where a phyſical incorporation, but not a political one, has been formed by degrees;—where one fleet and one army, nationally indiviſible even in thought, have been formed from the ſubjects of each without diſtinction;—where the enemies of one are the enemies of both;—where peace and war affect both or neither;—where the ſubjects of the one are entitled to all the natural rights of the other—where is the diſtinct and ſeparate national

dignity

dignity of either? I know of none. The dignity of ſuch an empire is not diviſible into parts.

National pride is but too generally national prejudice. The introduction of thoſe plauſible terms amongſt the objects of real conſideration, is loading the enquiry with gilded baubles. They are like the foils and ſpangles on the ſlipper of the opera-dancer, which catch the eye and give a falſe appearance of action.

Alluſions to partnerſhips in trade, and other unions amongſt men, not in their collective capacity, bring with them no force of argument to the preſent queſtion,—and for this great reaſon, that they reach not beyond the lives of the parties; another reaſon forbids the aſſimilation—namely, that the poſſibility of a ſeparation is not excluded in caſe of mutual or partial unhappineſs.

In conſidering this ſubject, the Legiſlature will preſs itſelf firſt upon our attention,—becauſe, it is that part of our conſtitution which is the keyſtone of our happineſs, and will be principally affected by an Union. The importance of it demands a

moſt minute examination of the changes it will undergo, and the effects thoſe changes may be productive of to the nation. It is true, that the Houſe of Commons of Ireland is not filled according to the true theory of repreſentation. It is true, that defects and blemiſhes are to be found therein, and could a ſafe correction of them be deviſed, I would rejoice at its application—but not at once. Alterations in ſo material a part of our political ſtructure muſt be gradual. But party ſpirit, and diſaffection, and a rage for innovation have magnified every defect; and the moſt criminal induſtry has been employed to league the people of Ireland againſt the conſtitution. The violent and wicked remedies which have been preſcribed, urged, and even fought for, muſt ſhew to every reflecting mind, the neceſſity which has been created of even cheriſhing theſe blemiſhes in the Iriſh repreſentative body, which do actually exiſt, rather than ſubmit to the regimen, which traitors and republicans would force or perſuade us to adopt.

I doubt not but that the incorporation of the two Legiſlatures would be the means of correcting moſt of thoſe blemiſhes, which exiſt in ours. Moſt certainly

certainly it would totally remove the chief and the only grounds, on which the exiſtence of boroughs can be juſtified. It is a mockery on repreſentation to behold the *voice* of an individual returning twenty members into the Houſe of Repreſentatives. It is inverting the object of repreſentation, not purſuing it. The delay, the impolicy and the inefficacy of taking the ſentiments of a nation by its individuals, on any propoſition, gave birth to delegation. By delegation was intended, that numbers ſhould be repreſented by one. How is this inverted, if one is repreſented by many? Inſtead of one voice acting as the aggregate ſentiment of many, this is multiplying the ſentiment of one into many, and giving each a ſeparate repreſentation in the Senate Houſe. Abſurd and irreconcileable as this may appear, and injurious as it has often been to the intereſts of the kingdom, and may again be ſo, yet in the events which have taken place in Ireland within theſe twelve months, we find not only an excuſe for its exiſtence, but even a neceſſity for its continuance, until the cauſes ceaſe, which juſtify it at preſent.

The

The term of that neceſſity will be, I hope, very ſhort. But the hour of political and private nervouſneſs is not a fit time for throwing off an old garment, under which, notwithſtanding ſome rents, we have found a genial warmth, and a protection againſt the fury of the ſtorm.

The commencement of an Union would undoubtedly be the death of thoſe reaſons, which ambition or venal ingenuity can frame in the defence of boroughs. If repreſentation is a meaſure of expediency—the more perfect that repreſentation is, the the more completely does it anſwer the ends of it. Every deviation from the principles, on which it is founded, is a corruption—and corruption in the body politick, like that in the body natural, gives birth to things diſguſting.

It is not ſuppoſed by any one, that the whole of the two houſes of Parliament are to be annexed to thoſe of Great Britain, but a proportion only. How much conſideration and debate and ſtruggle will that proportion occaſion, ſhould the meaſure take effect? on that proportion the hopes and fears of Ireland will reſt. Clamour here ſhould be ſilent, leſt

left it confound the arrangement. Much is to be feared, leaſt the noiſy or ſubtle arguments of the agents of revolution or of power ſhould lead the multitude aſtray, and thus force the judgment of the wiſe and the learned to yield to popular tumult.

The example, which is drawn from the Union of Scotland with England, furniſhes to Ireland a leſſon of caution and wiſdom, which ſhould never be loſt ſight of. The fixed and unchangeable limitation of the repreſentation of that kingdom ſuggeſts to me the following obſervations:

If the proportion of Iriſh repreſentation to be admitted into the Britiſh Senate is to be aſcertained by her preſent relative conſequence and value in the Empire—how is the future exerciſe of that value and conſequence (in relation to the Empire) to receive hereafter its proportion of additional repreſentation commenſurate to that relative encreaſe? The growth of Iriſh proſperity is confidentially promiſed to be in a ratio far above calculation, by the adoption of this great meaſure, a previous article ſhould therefore be inſerted to provide for it, leſt the Engliſh Cabinet, compoſed of men without either

either the ability or the integrity of the preſent members, ſhould be hereafter deaf to a claim, which had not been provided for by the articles of Union. Ireland cannot be certain, that her conſequence will every ſeven years be weighed with impartiality and juſtice in the ſcale of the Empire, and a proportion of repreſentatives be allotted to her accordingly.

Whether the placing the dernier reſort in the Iriſh houſe of Peers has in its conſequences juſtified that proud exultation, which took place at the accompliſhment of that event, is a ſubject which I mean not to touch upon. Whether the dignity of our Peerage will be affected by an Union, I mean not to argue. The whole body of our Peerage cannot find ſeats in the Engliſh houſe of Lords.

I muſt ſuppoſe, that in the articles of Union, England will propoſe to aſcertain and limit the number of Iriſh Peers admiſſible to Parliament, as was done with Scotland. But let not this material point be overlooked in the arrangement, namely, that if the number to be admitted is to be aſcertained by a compariſon with the preſent number of Engliſh Peers—a proviſion ſhould be made, that in every

every addition hereafter to be made to the Engliſh Peerage, Ireland ſhall be conſidered, and ſhall be enabled to ſend her proportion alſo to the Engliſh houſe of Lords—whether this point had been diſcuſſed at the ſettlement of the articles of the Scotch Union, neither my reſearches, nor my enquiries have been as yet able to diſcover. But it is ſurely a proviſion well deſerving the attention of the kingdom, ſhould an Union take place betwen her and England. The credit of Ireland will greatly depend on the abilities and virtues of the Peers ſhe ſhall elect on this occaſion to repreſent her. Independence of ſpirit is as neceſſary as independence of fortune—integrity in politicks as much as integrity in private dealings.—The mode of election will be a ſubject requiring much deliberation. If the Union be not embraced, and the Iriſh houſe of Peers thereby remain on it's preſent footing—I ſhall only obſerve, that an hereditary repreſentative Body ſhould be ever moſt pure, becauſe it is not liable to that correction to which the octenial election ſubjects the Lower Houſe.

Utcunque defecere mores
Dedecorant benè nata culpæ.

I muſt ſuppoſe, that if the Union takes place, the mode of repreſentation of Ireland in the Britiſh

Houſe

House of Commons, will be by an election, not by boroughs, but by counties, proportioned to their value in the nation. I must suppose that the present proprietors of boroughs will be recompensed by Parliament for the loss of their *inheritance* or *purchase* in those boroughs. The introduction of such a proposition into Parliament, will call forth the metaphysical subtilty of the mover to reconcile it to the rules of Parliament. An avowal must be made, that boroughs are mere private property, and that two-thirds of those, who compose that very parliament, are not elected by the nation but by proprietors.—Proprietors of the boroughs—Proprietors of the votes in Parliament. But the breach of order in making such an avowal in that House, should not stand a bar to so necessary a proposition.

I have heretofore considered the Parliamentary modifications without involving the question which brings into agitation, the power of Parliament to make any material innovation in the constitution. This will be a subject of debate, which will, I fear, create more heat, and produce more political animosities and divisions, than this already-divided nation

nation can well bear. The ſcience of politics has this peculiarity in it, that every pupil or novice in it, at once thinks himſelf a maſter. Thus it is, that in every company, and at every table, political ſubjects are unceaſingly introduced; and no man departs with any other conviction on his mind, from the arguments he has heard, than that heat and paſſion are inſeparable from ſuch diſcuſſions, and that perſonal animoſities are the concluſions which follow.

And can it be hoped, that a ſubject, which touches the feelings and paſſions of every one more than any other political ſubject whatever,—becauſe it affects that conſtitution, which all have been taught to love and revere,—Can it, I ſay, be hoped that ſuch a ſubject will be weighed with impartiality in a moment, and in ſuch a moment as the preſent? Can it be hoped, that in proportion to its magnitude it will be conſidered with coolneſs? Are the objects which it embraces, and the intereſts which it affects, ſo eaſily compriſed within the compaſs of one glance, that time will not be neceſſary to form our judgements? Is the merchant of the north and the merchant of the ſouth ſo proximate, that each

can at the ſame inſtant whiſper in the enquirer's ear, the reſult of every commercial conſideration? Are the ſentiments of conſtituents to be collected throughout this nation without meetings, or without reference?—or is the repreſentative to reject the aſſiſtance of his country on a meaſure, which if adopted, will be without reviſion or repeal?

And is this nation in that ſober, calm, unagitated ſtate, that needs no reſt, and is fitted to this inflaming debate? Is it in the remembrance of murdered friends yet freſh upon the mind? Is it in the embers, yet warm, of thoſe fires in which the houſes and property of thouſands were conſumed? Is it in the Reports of the Secret Committees verified by events? Is it in the terrors, which a ſecret and domeſtic foe at this very hour occaſion? Is it in the depreſſion of private credit, and in the ſtill exiſting neceſſity of keeping the Yeomanry on duty? Is it in a nation divided and armed againſt itſelf? Is it in theſe, that we find an argument to prove the nation to be in that ſober and calm and unprejudiced ſtate of mind, which is ſuited to the reception and conſideration of a meaſure, the extent of whoſe effects, has called up a miniſterial officer

to

to publiſh his arguments *for and* "AGAINST" the adoption of it? Have the conſequences, which may follow an agitation in the public mind, been conſidered? Is the neceſſity of an inſtantaneous concluſion ſo imperious, that nothing can be conceded to caution? Who can yet ſay "the ſtorm "is paſt, and the wreck is cleared?"

The commercial part of the nation forms ſo conſiderable an intereſt, and is ſo particularly liable to the effects of changes, that it eſſentially behoves it to examine with cautious care the conſequences, which may reſult to it from the projected Union. It is a misfortune, and a real one, that there is not that unity of commercial intereſts amongſt the merchants of Ireland, which exiſts in England ſo greatly to its advantage. The North, from the habits of a trade, which is fatally hurtful to general commerce in a nation, where impoſts and reſtrictions are neceſſary, differs in its intereſts from the South, and particularly from the metropolis. On few queſtions would the merchants of both agree. There has been, I believe, no inſtance of any conſiderable fortune being amaſſed in the North by commerce, ſave ſuch only where ſmuggling has been

been the means. The modes of commerce, which have been practiced there, create an intereſt, which will not be conſentaneous with the ideas of a fair trader. The geographical ſituation of the North gives ſo much encouragement to contraband trade, and the temptations are ſo ſtrong, that I fear the continuance of it will not be ſhort-lived. By this and other cauſes, which thoſe, to whom they relate, are well appriſed of, the voice of the Iriſh merchant is ſeldom liſtened to; and the weight, which it ſhould have in the ſtate, and with foreign nations is inconſiderable. The ſentiments of the Iriſh merchants are eaſily anticipated—they are therefore ſeldom conſulted. But on this great queſtion they ſhould deliberate and ſhould be heard. In a commercial nation, the voice of commercial men ſhould not be ſet at nought.

The Eſtabliſhed Church will have leſs reaſon to object to an Union thon the Bar. With ſorrow I ſee the gradual advances, which public opinion is making againſt the rights of the Clergy. Thoſe eſtates, which are the proviſion of the Clergy, are viewed with encreaſing jealouſy, and the Iriſh Houſe of Commons has not infrequently witneſſed the

effects

effects of it. Too much cauſe is to be found in the manners and modes of life of thoſe, who now fill the clerical orders. Where is that reſpectability of appearance, that dignified modeſty of deportment, that holy zeal, and that impreſſive example of life, by which the vulgar were awed, and the reſt were won to reſpect them? The ſecurity of the Church eſtates totters from the loſs of its reverend pillars. I am, however, of opinion, that the extinction of a Parliament in Ireland, will be the means of giving ſtability to the poſſeſſions of the Church.

The Bar is ſo extenſive a field for wealth, fame, honors, and civil preferments, and is of ſuch weight in this country, that the profeſſion cannot but be moſt materially affected by the incorporation of the two Kingdoms. With juſt reaſon the public attention is fixed on the reſult of a meeting of the members of that profeſſion, on the queſtion of an Union. Thoſe too, who are concerned in the Government of the kingdom, are not unconcerned as to the opinion of the Bar. The learning, the judgment, the connections, the influence, the power of that profeſſion muſt give weight

weight to their political opinions. If the intereſt of the nation demands an Union, the Bar will not, I am ſure, balance its ſeparate intereſts againſt thoſe of their country. But if the meaſure ſhall appear to be inexpedient, the influence of that profeſſion will not be exerted in vain.

The landed intereſt will have leſs to guide it in the diſcuſſion of the queſtion, than any other part of the nation. Speculation will have its fulleſt ſcope. But the manufactures, and particularly thoſe, that are yet in their infancy, will be moſt materially concerned. The linen manufacturer will not be injured in any degree, but perhaps he will be benefited by an Union. The coarſe woollen manufacture, which gives employment to the South, ſtands much in the ſame ſituation with that of linens, and has nothing to fear from England. But the cotton manufactory, and others which Ireland has been ſtruggling to eſtabliſh in herſelf, and are now protected by duties on Engliſh goods of the ſame kind, will have reaſon to be watchful for their exiſtence. Proviſions and regulations will be neceſſary to ſave them, and the numbers who have embarked their properties in them ſhould have time

to

to frame thoſe proviſions, before the meaſure ſhall take effect.

Local intereſts are deeply engaged in this great queſtion. The metropolis of Ireland looks with an agony of anxiety, at a meaſure, by which ſhe is apprehenſive that her ruin may be accompliſhed. If the Union is to be productive of an unbounded extenſion of commerce, how will Dublin be made partaker in the benefit? The Court and the Parliament brought that city to a ſtate of the higheſt beauty and improvement. Thouſands, building their faith on the ſeparate national exiſtence of Ireland, have ſunk their properties in purchaſes or in the eſtabliſhment of their trades in or near to Dublin. Their ſecurity totters, and their eſtates are already depreciated by the mere avowal of the intended meaſure. The ſituation of the metropolis, the badneſs and inſecurity of her harbour, the ſhallowneſs of her river,—theſe and many other cauſes will operate to prevent the exiſtence of her commerce, and her reaping any advantages from the Union, which can compenſate her for her loſſes. Cork on the other hand will derive every benefit, which Dublin muſt looſe. The ſituation of Cork

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in the map of Europe will draw commerce to her great harbour. Thus one part of the nation will be aggrandized at the expence of another. The misery of an impoverished province is not counterbalanced by the prosperity of another.

How many arrangements therefore will be necessary to prevent the partial operation of an Union? How much time will it require to examine consequences, and to guard against them? How much consultation and deliberation will be wanting amongst the different parts of the nation,—its Merchants, its Professions, its Parliament, its Men of Estate, and its Men of Trade?

And can the advantages and disadvantages of an Union, and all its consequences, be seen and weighed in a moment? Does the yet agitated and nervous state of Ireland afford that moment which prudence would select? The public papers are yet filled with the detail of outrages committed daily throughout the kingdom, and which serve to keep the inhabitants in a state of continual alarm. It will not be deemed unfair to presume from thence, that one of two consequences must ensue, viz. that the

the propoſition will be either embraced with inconſiderate eagerneſs, or rejected with reſentment; the former conſequence will be produced by that exhauſted ſtate of body and mind, which proceeds from unceaſing terrors, and flies for ſhelter to any thing, that ſeems to promiſe it a momentary relief, and a defence againſt continued attacks. The latter conſequence will follow from this, that an impreſſion (however falſe, yet natural to an agitated mind) may be received by the nation, which will unfortunately lead it to believe, that the hour of national diſtreſs was ſelected for preſſing a meaſure big with conſequences, and which without being fairly examined, will be conſidered as injurious to Ireland; candour, and cool judgment, and good temper will be ſtrangers to the determination, and the true intereſts of the nation will be overlooked; violent reſolutions and deciſions will follow: I know the impetuous and irritable temper of my countrymen, and I know how eaſily it is miſdirected.

An event the moſt extraordinary, the moſt dangerous, and I will add the moſt unnatural may ſucceed; a temporary and partial and deſigning coalition

may be formed between the diſaffected and the loyal: partial—becauſe it has only one object in view, namely, the defeat of the meaſure of an Union; deſigning—becauſe it is making the loyal part of the nation ancillary to the views of traitors; temporary—becauſe it will ceaſe with its object. The effects of ſuch a coaliſion are not eaſily calculated; animoſities would be created between Ireland and Britain, and the grand wiſh of treaſon would be accompliſhed by the creation of a diviſion between two kingdoms, which ought to be linked together by an indiſſoluble tie, and have no ſeparate intereſts.

And would the adoption of the meaſure act like a charm in inſtantaneouſly compoſing every diſcontented mind in Ireland? or would its operation be ſlow and gradual?

Is there not too much reaſon to fear, that the ill temper of the nation may now not only reject the meaſure without valuing it, but that an impreſſion may be left behind, which will impede the accompliſhment of it at a future period: many are the advantages which it promiſes—many are the ſacri-

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fices which must be made at its adoption. Prejudices are always clamorous and violent—Reason and Time may, and alone can remove them.

In the wisdom of an honourable Government, and in the good sense of England I rest my hope, that the sickly state of Ireland will not be selected for the hour of change.

Ου παθημα, αλλα μαθημα σωφρονυν.

ZEN.

FINIS.

THOUGHTS

ON THE

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

OF

PARLIAMENT,

RESPECTING THE POWER OF SURRENDERING

THE

LEGISLATIVE INDEPENDENCE

OF

IRELAND.

By A——N——nd.

DUBLIN:

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1798.

AN

ARGUMENT

AGAINST THE

UNION.

THE queſtion which now agitates the public mind has excited in every man an alarm, equal at leaſt to the perſonal intereſt he may have in the conſequences of an Union with Great Britain. If it is a queſtion of policy or reciprocal advantage, it is fair to enquire into the neceſſity of the one, and nature of the other. I therefore offer to the conſideration of my countrymen the following obſervations :—

1. Has

1. Has the Iriſh Parliament a right to yield the National Independence, without the National conſent?

2. If they have the right, can any thing juſtify the meaſure but national advantage?

3. Will an Union produce that advantage?

4. If it does, could theſe advantages be obtained through no other channel, but that of national degradation?

5. If it does not, will England be as willing to repeal the act of Union for our benefit, as we have been to form the compact for theirs?

6. If it will not be productive of national benefit, does it not become every man to enquire into the means of prevention, and act on thoſe means with coolneſs, temper and wiſdom?

7. If the nation, by it's voice, determine againſt it, and the Parliament, by it's previous determination, maintain and effect it; does the Conſtitution juſtify [redacted]?

The firſt argument conſidered:

Has

Has the Iriſh* Parliament a right to yield the national independence, without the national conſent?

To aſcertain this right, it will be neceſſary to conſider the Conſtitution and nature of Parliament. All Governments are ſuppoſed to be inſtituted for the good of the people. This is the end to which they approximate—the impulſe on which they move. The good of the people being the baſis of Government, there are limits beyond which the Government cannot paſs; that is, it can do nothing to injure the people. The Parliament then being appointed to make ſalutary laws, for the government of the people; can if right do no act to injure the people. The Parliament, therefore, is ſubject to controul. If it be not, why are the oaths of allegiance, ſupremacy, and abjuration required of a member before he takes his ſeat. If he cannot take his ſeat without theſe qualifications, does it not ſuppoſe a controul—a controul placed in the conſtitution, as a barrier to defend itſelf——. Again: no man can diſpoſe of the property of another, without his conſent, expreſsly given, or tacitly, by his repreſentative:—as no ſtate can be regulated or defended without taxes, each man contributes a part, in order to preſerve the whole. This right to ſecure and to defend, is given by the Conſtituent to the Repreſentative; but the right is limit-

By Parliament I mean the two Houſes of Lords and Commons.

limited by the neceſſity, and the impoſition on property muſt not exceed the neceſſity, but is regulated by it. Here is a new controul—there muſt be a neceſſity, and that neceſſity is the limitation of his power. Let us view the queſtion in another way: A member of the Houſe of Lords may, if he pleaſes, decline his duty, but he cannot yield his right of acting. Let me be underſtood—By right I do not mean ſimply, his privileges, voting by proxy, &c.—I mean he cannot conſign to another, the actual, poſitive right he derives from the Conſtitution, of ſpeaking and acting as a hereditary legiſlator. Now, if as an individual, he cannot convey this right, the aſſembly of the Houſe of Lords, as a collective body, cannot convey the collective legiſlative right they derive from the Conſtitution. But the Houſe of Lords is hereditary—then each Peer is an hereditary legiſlator; but, in caſe of an Union, that hereditary right is extinguiſhed for ever.

The houſe of Peers is a component part of the conſtitution. It is contra diſtinguiſhed from another part of the conſtitution by this very right.—Here the right is not limited, as in the caſe of the Common's houſe, it is razed, extirpated, annihilated. The elector of a commoner may loſe four fifths of his real authority, but a hereditary lord with-yields the whole of his; becauſe he will then

then depend for a ſeat, on an election, and thus depending, may be excluded from a ſeat during his life. The election of a Commoner and a Lord, will differ only in regard to the number of electors and the mode of election. Their authority, their power, their dignity, is gone for ever! The barrier placed by the conſtitution between the People and the Throne is broken down—there is no force to reſiſt the licentious fury of the one, and the abſolute prerogative of the other. But if the houſe of Lords as a hereditary body are thus limitted, how much more limited are the the Commons who have an aſcertained, delegated, terminable truſt.—This truſt, limited in duration, is to maintain the conſtitution and the laws. If they are to maintain, they cannot yield, or deſtroy it; for this is a violation of the truſt repoſed in and committed to them. If they accede to an Union, they violate the contract between the conſtituent and repreſentative—in the firſt inſtance, by conſigning to others a truſt delegated to themſelves—in the next, by giving to another nation the power of impoſing taxes on their own, without the conſent of both parties, to the tranſfer of that power. If there be a contract, expreſſed or implied, between the repreſentative and conſtituent, both parties are equally bound by the terms of that contract. Now, the moſt prominent term of the contract is, that at the time

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preſcribed by law, the repreſentative ſurrender to his conſtituent the truſt imparted to him—but if inſtead of yielding it to his conſtituent, he embezzles a part, and makes a conveyance of the remainder to others, is it not a breach of faith and an unjuſtifiable act of power? Does not this reaſoning apply to the whole?—Can the houſe of Commons put into the hands of another country, a right to legiſlate for them, to their own excluſion?—Does not this act diſſolve at once the conſtitution from which they derive their political exiſtence?

The Conſtitution has veſted in the people alone the right of electing: this is a right they do not impart or convey to their repreſentative as they do others—they retain, jealouſly retain this; and under every poſſible circumſtance, never ſurrender it. If the conſtituent cannot convey it, the repreſentative cannot uſe it; therefore cannot impart it to others—but if he does impart it, the repreſentative then beſtows the right of another. —What muſt be inferred from this act but that it is a violation of the conſtitution and an act of flagrant injuſtice? But it will be ſaid they do not uſurp the right, they only convey it through another channel. Admitting this the fact; they ſtill abuſe the right; for if even 300 members were returned to the Engliſh Parliament, the conſtitution would

would ſtill be violated; for the conſtitution preſcribes, returning members to an Iriſh Parliament, regulated by Iriſh laws. If this caſe happened, would we not then be ſubject to Britiſh controul, as the Britiſh Parliament would have a decided majority. Was it not declared in 1782, that, "to "ſay England had not renounced her right to "make laws to bind Ireland, was high treaſon, "and a breach of the Conſtitution." I wiſh to ſpeak with reſpect, and under the ſanction of the law. How will theſe contradictions be reconciled? But Ireland will not be repreſented by 300, but by 60 members. I will be confidently told, that under this impreſſion of the fact, the right will not be extinguiſhed. I anſwer it will not be extinguiſhed, but it will be deſtroyed. It might as well be aſſerted, that the man was not robbed, from whom you took 400l. when his whole capital conſiſted but of 500l. Is this fair reaſoning? If it be not, anſwer it on a legal ground, and ſhew in what points it is unſuſtained by juſtice and by truth. It is abſurd to talk of advantages that may be received, or the contrary, when the right of diſcuſſion does not exiſt. I will again be overwhelmed by being told, "the Parliament is above controul." I know a Judge has ſaid this—but it was only an obſervation of the Judge; it was not the law. If it were above controul, could it be prorogued, diſſolved, annihilated; does it not emanate from the King?

is it not deprived of exiſtence by the King? This is a branch of prerogative. Who gave it? The Conſtitution. The Conſtitution then controuls the King, and the King the Parliament. The law therefore ſets a limit both to the Parliament and the King. If the Parliament ſeized on this right, would not the Conſtitution be diſſolved, as in the reign of Charles the Firſt. The Parliament then is not above controul. If the Conſtitution governs the Parliament, it is an act of treaſon to deſtroy or diminiſh that act of Government.—Charles, by an attack on the Conſtitution, loſt his life.—James loſt his Throne—they did not attempt to deſtroy, but to infringe it. How ſevere was their puniſhment! I wiſh to make no inference; but it is a principle in philoſophy, that ſimilar cauſes will produce ſimilar effects.

Grotius ſays, "a people can give themſelves to a King."—They muſt be the PEOPLE. They may appoint perſons to make the ceſſion; theſe are only the organ of the general will and the general voice.—Let the Parliament be the organ, but give the people the will. It is a principle, that the law binds *all*, becauſe it expreſſes the will of *all*—the right then is a conſequence of the will. An Union will extinguiſh this right, and thus deſtroy the ground on which they ſtand, the authority which gave them exiſtence. It may be ſaid, "it

"will

" will ſecure the Engliſh Sovereignty." This is problematical. But it does not give a power to annihilate the Iriſh Sovereignty.

I think I have proved that there is a controul—and that this controul is placed by the conſtitution in the people. Now, an Union is a change of the conſtitution—and as the people alone are competent to make the change—their ſenſe ſhould be taken. If the Independence of Ireland be diſpoſed of, contrary to that ſenſe, it muſt be by force. Is this a time to try an experiment of the ſword? To prevent the experiment, admit the right—give the people the deciſion of the queſtion—if they prefer an Union—let every arm ſupport it.

A. N.

(To be continued.)

STRICTURES

UPON THE

UNION

BETWIXT

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND.

BY AN OFFICER.

Dublin.

PRINTED FOR BERNARD DORNIN, GRAFTON-STREET.

1798.

STRICTURES, &c.

FROM an object of ſo momentuous importance, as an Union between Great Britain and Ireland; he indeed muſt be endued with more than common apathy, who can turn with indifference—It commands the attention of every rank in ſociety; nor is the ſituation of any ſo deſpicable, as not to be affected by its probable conſequences.—And in truth I have little reaſon to ſuppoſe, that it lies neglected; the ſubject ſeems already debated with a keenneſs equal to its merits. It has been laid before the public in every guiſe which, either good ſenſe, fancy, intereſt or acri-

mony could beſtow upon it; and however inadequate I may be to throw new light upon a ſubject, upon all ſides ſo ably conteſted: I at leaſt have the merit of entering the field, as diſintereſted, and unprejudiced, as any of thoſe champions who have preceded me.

In a conteſt of this kind, which neceſſarily involves ſo many jarring intereſts; it may naturally, be expected that, the views, the wiſhes, the ſituations of individuals, will be apt to throw a falſe colouring upon the picture. The ſhades of life are various, the intereſts of mankind no leſs extended, and the mind ſo apt to flatter our ſelfiſh ſpeculations, as the ebullitions of patriotiſm; that it is little to be wondered at, that men equally intereſted for the good of their country, ſhould ſee that good to be obtained through ſuch oppoſite mediums;—ſhould indulge their ſpleen at the expence of their judgment;—and purſue the object of their wiſhes, by whatever

whatever means, either wit, learning, or political prejudice may prompt them to. Such ſpeculations ſhould therefore be liſtened to with diffidence, and he whoſe tone is moſt decided, is leaſt of all to be truſted. The wiſdom of a Senate might even here heſitate with property. I ſhall proceed with caution; 'tis perhaps my only recommendation to the attention of the public.

Before ballancing the mutual advantages of a Union betwixt Great Britain and Ireland, as the expediency of ſuch a meaſure is denied *in toto*, let me upon that preliminary point, ſay a few words in the firſt place.

Thoſe who oppoſe ſuch an Union make uſe of one of theſe two arguments: either that this is not the proper time for intruding ſuch a political innovation upon the rights of the Iriſh nation, when the ſpirits of men are already ſufficiently fer-

mented by recent tranſactions in the kingdom;—or, that a Union of Ireland with Great Britain, can never take place, but at the expence of the independence of the former, and the conſequent aggrandizement of the latter ſtate.

To argue, that this is not the proper time, for bringing ſuch a meaſure before the public eye, is tacitly allowing that, at ſome future period it might be acquieſced in with advantage:—But at preſent the ſituation of this kingdom, forbids ſuch an attempt. Behold a country ſcarce breathing from the ravages of civil fury, its fields died with the blood of its inhabitants, its villages depopulated, its harveſts laid waſte; the ſeeds of jealouſy germinating in every boſom; and party diſtinctions courting every claim that, can foſter and promote the ſpirit of revenge.—The picture is awful; and I am much afraid, that ſhould we ſolely truſt to the hand of time, to ſoften the foreground of

ſuch

ſuch a landſcape, that thoſe radical evils, which have been the origin of all the miſeries of this country, would take a root ſo deep, ſo widely branched, as no laws, no policy, human or divine, not even ſelf intereſt itſelf, but muſt fail to check the growth of thoſe diſorders, which have already deluged this unhappy country, in civil warfare. The ſources of theſe evils are many;—they are however principally to be found, in the party feuds of proteſtant and catholic; in the unlimited tyranny of the greater over the ſmaller tenants;—and from abſentees truſting entirely the concern, the welfare, the very being of the poor cottager, to the arbitrary dominion—yes, ſometimes, to the illegal exactions of a ſelf-intereſted, cunning, pitiful agent. That theſe remarks are by no means novel, I ſhall readily grant:—that they are evils exiſting at the preſent moment who can deny?—evils foſtered by the hand of prejudice, ſupported by cuſtom, countenanced perhaps from neceſſity. If recognized

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by the public as the great ſource of theſe drawbacks upon the proſperity of Ireland, 'tis indifferent how often the remark be made, if a remedy be not applied. And where is that remedy to be found? In a Union, I reply—In a Union, ſo cloſely linked, that thoſe ſtubborn fetters, which the wiſdom of government hath ſo faſt interwoven, a ſimilarity of manners, an interchange of mutual benefits, a neceſſity ariſing from paſt events, may rivet ſtill cloſer together. 'Tis upon ſuch grounds that my hypotheſis reſts, nor in any part of my argument, ſhall I ever loſe ſight of them.

Whilſt the government of Ireland remains upon its preſent footing, I ſhall readily grant that it would be dangerous to enter fully into the claims of the Roman Catholics. If it is neceſſary for the well being of this ſtate, that the Proteſtant intereſt ſhould bear a decided ſuperiority; reſtrictions upon Roman Catholics muſt ſtill continue. I feel that I do not grant too much when I avow,

that

that even the welfare of Great Britain itſelf depends upon ſo momentous a meaſure. But change the queſtion—ſhould an Union take place, are ſuch reſtrictions requiſite?—By no means.—The political views of Ireland are extended. It has Great Britain for its range: and granting that you were to allow the Roman Catholics complete emancipation, how in ſuch a caſe could that effect the Parliament of Great Britain, or the Proteſtant poſſeſſions in Ireland?—The repreſentation of the kingdom in point of numbers being diminiſhed, there probably would be ſo decided a ſuperiority in favour of thoſe leading characters, who aſpired to that honour, as to bear down every attempt at oppoſition; political feuds would then be diminiſhed—their effects at leaſt transferred to a more diſtant quarter would be leſs ſenſibly felt, and in time every ſenſe of injury would vaniſh, and harmony would ſucceed. If my hypotheſis is true, what time ſo urgent as the preſent for bringing forward a meaſure, which

which will heal theſe wounds, at the price of a few privileges to the Roman Catholics of Ireland; and what the Proteſtants will not feel themſelves intereſted to deny them. Wounds, which bleeding as they are at preſent from every pore, and planting the ſeeds of future rebellion, in minds open both to injury and revenge, are the more liable to be healed by impreſſions of gratitude, and that too at a time, when leaſt expected. Grant me for one moment, that my arguments are good, who then will dare to deny, that the Union of the Romon Catholics of Ireland with the Proteſtant intereſt would not promote the proſperity of the kingdom? Are reſtrictions upon three-fourths of any ſociety, the true mode of advancing its welfare? Where is the bud that will expand under the rod of the oppreſſor? The genius which bloſſoms only under the foſtering hand of indulgence, will ſicken and die if unprotected—if limits be chained to hope, and if the unfettered mind muſt be goaded by reſtrictions, which

neither

neither intereſt can remove, nor the brighteſt talents ameliorate.

It would be entering too deeply into the agriculture ſtate of this kingdom, to explain at large, the many abuſes originating from the mode too generally practiſed in leaſing lands—I ſhall not dwell upon thoſe evils reſulting from the vaſt extent of farms ſo generally found in many diſtricts of this country, a ſubject, rather the duty of a ſtatiſtical obſerver, than the writer of an eſſay of this nature. I ſhall more particularly confine myſelf to the mode, in which leaſes are granted, which with regard to political effects merits every attention. I allude to the ſtate of the real farmers of Ireland, as diſtinguiſhed from the middle men. Theſe occupying tenants, are a ſet of men, to whoſe labour and induſtry ſociety owes moſt—a ſet of men who owe leaſt to their country—to whom oppreſſion is no ſtranger, and who to gain independence, muſt paſs through an ordeal, that I muſt confeſs,

an Iriſhman alone would have patience to attempt. To draw the picture of calamity is at no time pleaſing. If to paint oppreſſion in the glowing colours of a feeling mind, would be here neceſſary—who is ignorant of what I would wiſh to deſcribe? the animated impulſe of every honeſt heart, has long ere now beat with correſpondent feelings, wiſhed to point out the remedy, and ſickened to think that, a cuſtom ſo univerſal, muſt truſt a good deal to the hand of time and experience for an effectual remedy. Yet I ſhould be ſtiled a mere declaimer, and perhaps might merit the reproach were I to ſtop here—ſince I have ventured upon the ſubject, it is my duty to explain myſelf more fully. The middle men of Ireland are thoſe who with propriety may be defined "upſtart gentlemen"—who, generally ſpeaking, have much confidence, many pretenſions, and little humanity:—who think for themſelves alone, regard the little tenant as their property, conſider every ſcheme excuſable to which pro-

ſit

fit is annexed, and yet reſort not to thoſe modes of induſtry, by which theſe profits might be juſtifiably doubled. Theſe are the men, who are the curſe of every country in which they are known: but who are no where recogniſed, as a diſtinct claſs of individuals, except where agriculture is at its loweſt verge. To every general rule there muſt be exceptions—to this I know many; and yet, I believe my picture will be recognized, as juſt in the outline. Againſt univerſal habit, the legiſlature is no ſafeguard; the laws of this country are admirable; but in how many inſtances has precept preceded example?—The time however approaches, when even abſentees will recognize the injuſtice they do themſelves and their country, from leaſing ſuch extenſive diſtricts to individuals, with power to lord it over ſome thouſands of poor occupiers of that ſoil, upon which the intermidate tenant has perhaps never beſtowed one hours labour, one ſixpence to ameliorate, or one thought—but to harraſs

the

the induſtrions cultivator and his helpleſs family. Will not the worm even riſe againſt you if trampled upon? who then ſhall wonder to obſerve ſeditious principles ſwallowed by an ignorant, a deluded multitude, to whom in many caſes, *hereafter*, define it as you may, would be preferable to his preſent exiſtence. Thank God the time is at hand, (I flatter myſelf I am not miſtaken) when a Union with Great Britain, pointing out ſo many incentives to induſtry, ſo many channels of wealth, and caſting ſuddenly aſide the veil of prejudice, muſt expand the native genius and humanity of Iriſhmen; and teach them that they now can boaſt of reſources within themſelves, which but to cultivate, muſt make them riſe ſuperior to what, even twenty years ago, it would have been conſidered a hyperbole to look up to.

The conſequences reſulting from abſentees are perhaps none of the leaſt of thoſe hardſhips complained of, not ſo much to the

the country at large from their withdrawing from its circulation, ſo great a capital as the rents of their properties; as to individuals, from the want of that ſource of happineſs, which they would experience more immediately, under the countenance of a kind landlord. How many men are there, who bleſt with the nobleſt ſpirit of philanthrophy, could, from the dictates of their own heart, find an eaſy, a certain remedy to many evils, which are unattended to by thoſe who have neither intereſt to induce, or compaſſion to point out a remedy? evils, which in many inſtances, I am convinced, are ſufficiently grounded to warrant redreſs—which, were they even viſionary, the ſoothing, the perſuaſive voice of a compaſſionate landlord, could, by humouring, eaſily blot out by a ſmile, in place of their being turned into real hardſhips by the humours of an unfeeling agent.—Were the mode in which the rents are levied in many places of this country, attended to by the legiſlator, a remedy might be found

for

for much of the diſcontent which pervades the lower ranks of ſociety in this kingdom. Did the great proprietors of land liſten to their own intereſt, they would ſometimes recollect what Bacon in his apoghthegms, relates of James the firſt of England,——" Gentlemen," ſaid the king," at London, you are like ſhips in a ſea, which ſhew like nothing; but in your country villages, you are like ſhips in a river, which look great things."—But, ſays the oppoſer of the Union, if abſentees are at preſent found a real evil, how much more ſo muſt that afterwards be felt, when inducements for emigrating are multiplied, and the impoſſiblity exiſts of reſiding beyond that ſphere, where profit, honour and riches are alone diſtributed. In the firſt place, Scotland experiences the ſame evil, but there it is made up,—by poſſeſſing a free unreſtricted commerce with that country, which ſwallows up ſo great a proportion of her rents. At preſent Ireland cannot poſſibly advert to ſuch a return: her

trade

trade with Great Britain being cramped.—Did therefore the evil even increaſe with the Union, it would find a remedy within itſelf of the ſame nature with Scotland.

But even the neceſſary connection which a member of the Britiſh legiſlature muſt keep up berwixt himſelf and his conſtituents, for the purpoſe of ſuſtaining his political influence, will render it neceſſary for him to ſpend part of his time in the country. Profit alone will lead him to it, for as one of the conſequences of a Union an increaſe of Engliſh capital flowing into this kingdom, attended by the example of genius, œconomy, and regularity in farming, will of itſelf create a deſire, if not to improve in huſbandry, at leaſt to make the moſt of the ſoil: and let any liberal minded Iriſhman examine to what a height that improvement might be brought, (particularly in the province of Connaught,) not even carrying the idea to the ſummit of human improvement, yet ſtill it is incalculable.—

Have

Have I ſtrained my argument beyond all probable foreſight, by reſting it upon ſuch foundations? I hope not.—I have calculated principally upon the juſtifiable pride and avarice of mankind, nor would it be difficult to find others to ſupport my poſition.—One author I beg leave to quote upon this ſubject, the celebrated Arthur Young, who in his tour through Ireland, in the year 1778, makes the following obſervation upon a Union, and particularly as to the probable effects of the increaſing number of abſentees.—" In converſation upon " the ſubject of a Union with Great Britain, " I was informed that nothing was ſo un- " popular in Ireland as ſuch an idea, and " that the great objection to it was increaſ- " ing the number of abſentees.—When " it was in agitation, 20 peers and 60 " commoners were talked of to ſit in the " Britiſh Parliament, which would be the " reſidence of 80 of the beſt eſtates in " Ireland. Going every year to England, " would by degrees, make them reſidents;

" they

" they would educate their children there,
" and in time become mere abſentees:
" becoming ſo, they would be unpopular,
" others would be elected, who, treading
" in the ſame ſteps, would yield the place
" ſtill to others; and thus, by degrees, a
" vaſt portion of the kingdom now reſident
" would be made abſentees: which would,
" they think, be ſo great a drain to
" Ireland, that a free trade would not re-
" pay it.

" I think the idea is erroneous, were it
" only for one circumſtance, the kingdom
" would loſe, according to this reaſoning,
" an idle race of country gentlemen, and
" in exchange their ports would fill
" with ſhips and commerce, and all the
" conſequences of commerce: an exchange
" that never yet proved diſadvantageous
" to any country."

Had I not been afraid of becoming prolix, I might have dwelt upon ſubjects

which, indeed as to their conſequence, I have rather hurried over than defined; it is my wiſh, however, more to furniſh matter for others, than to attempt myſelf what I am little able to execute; and if I have failed in proving the benefits of a Union at the preſent criſis, it muſt be entirely owing to the mode in which I have arranged my arguments, not that theſe arguments in themſelves are null and frivolous.

But there are ſome who contend, that, a Union with Great Britain can at no time take place, but, to the total annihilation of the kingdom of Ireland.—With ſuch, every argument muſt be unavailing, for even truth itſelf would fail, were ſhe to deſcend from above, and dictate to them from the mouth of omnipotence.——To theſe Gentlemen, I ſhould beg leave to put one queſtion: is not that ſituation to be preferred, which holds out to men of enterprize, a choice, where formerly there was none?—I pretend not to define, what

may

may be the articles of the treaty betwixt Great Britain and Ireland, but ſurely without the ſpirit of prophecy, we may at leaſt foreſee, immenſe commercial advantages reſulting to the Iriſh nation, which muſt give in particular to the ſouth and weſt coaſts of this iſland, ſuch benefits, as are hardly calculable!—And is that of little avail, which conduces to call forth the genius and ability of a great nation?—In place of Dublin being the mart for talents, will not Cork, Waterford, Galway, Limerick, all claim their ſhare?—Yes, innumerable little villages upon theſe coaſts, will riſe into opulence; if not from mere nonentity, at leaſt from a ſituation ſomewhat approaching to it! Much has been ſaid by theſe Gentlemen, about the inſufficiency of Parliament to change the nature of the government,—I pretend not to dive into the mode by which Great Britain may attempt to eſtabliſh a Union of this nature; but it is at leaſt conſiſtent to ſuppoſe, that, ſhould the meaſure be brought forward by the

Britiſh Cabinet,—it can be gained only by thoſe means, which, ſhould the ſpirit of party, at ſome future period, think proper to canvaſs,—would even then, ſecure the voice of the nation, as conſtitutional. 'Tis unfair to argue upon a ſuppoſed data; —our very principles may be wrong;— What then becomes of our concluſions?

A pamphlet, entitled, "No Union," famed principally for its ſcurrility, has ventured, in contradiction to both truth and reaſon, to commence its carreer of oppoſition, by remarking in the firſt place, the prejudicial effects of the Union upon Scotland. Take this declaimer, in the way he wiſhes to be underſtood in,—and Scotland, and her countrymen,—poor, barbarous, and unprincipled, ſold themſelves for gold; and gained, eternal infamy attached to their character and kingdom; bent under the foot of their oppreſſor,— and thanked heaven for depriving them, of the ſmalleſt chance of arriving, at that

pitch

pitch of civilivation, which, in the natural progreſs of Europe to refinement, it had once ſome chance of reaching!—Churchill, Johnſon, and Macklin, are that author's three ſupporters. The firſt a man of a moſt infamous character; the ſecond contracting his antipathy to Scotland from Lord Bute's adminiſtration; and the third, a buffoon!—Worthy ſupporters of ſuch a hero!—Ignorance alone muſt have curtailed the authorities of the learned barriſter; for were ſuch ſatisfactory, he might have indulged his ſpleen, by a numerous liſt of ſupporters, that perhaps might have gained him greater attention. Since therefore, by calling in queſtion, the propriety of the Union of Great Britain as to Scotland, he has attempted to ſhew to the people of Ireland, the ſnare that is laid for themſelves; I ſhall briefly narrate thoſe circumſtances which gave riſe to it, affected it; and is at preſent the ſource of happineſs to both kingdoms.

From

From the firſt æra of the Engliſh and Scottiſh monarchy, to the reign of James the fifth, an eternal feud may be ſaid to have exiſted between the kingdoms; originating in the firſt place, from jealouſy, on the one hand ſupported by power and riches, on the other, by an independant ſpirit; in the ſecond place, from private quarrels amongſt the boarderers.—There were others of leſs conſequence, which gave riſe to continual jarrings; and it was even a maxim of the Scottiſh government, not to accept of too long a truce with England, leſt its warlike ſpirit ſhould be blunted. Whilſt England, therefore, in the gradual courſe of civilization, kept pace with the continental powers;—Scotland, from its poverty and ſituation, (excluded by England from the benefits of commerce) pauſed, or at moſt, very ſlowly advanced to refinement. Thoſe who are acquainted with the French authors, about the middle of the ſixteenth century, may form

form perhaps a comparative idea of the kingdom of Scotland, at that period.

When king James the ſixth, was fairly eſtabliſhed upon the throne of England,—a Union of both kingdoms was moſt earneſtly ſought after by the king; but as Hume wiſely obſerves, in this buſineſs "the commons ſhewed, a greater ſpirit of "independence, than any true judgment "of national intereſt;"—it miſcarried, at the ſame time, with ſeveral other meaſures, which the king had then almoſt as much at heart.—When the ſubject was again introduced, in the time of Queen Anne;—it was principally oppoſed by that party, in the Scots parliament, devoted to the court of St. Germains;—the dukes of Hamilton and Athole, the diſappointed leaders of two oppoſite factions, alſo ſecretly attached to that court, and then coaleſceing through party motives;—and by the leaders of the preſbyterian intereſt; who fearful of a change, in church government,

vernment, co-operated with the puritans, and every ſect of diſſenters, to fruſtrate the meaſure.—It was chiefly through their influence, that ſuch tumults were raiſed, as had not been witneſſed ſince the revolution;—and if the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds was upon this occaſion *lent* by the queen to the Scottiſh treaſury,—a *loan* ſo ſmall, will not juſtify the expreſſion, that the Scots ſold their country for gold. The majority of the nation, had already declared in its favor;—every ſecurity was given to the preſbyterians for the eſtabliſhment of their form of worſhip;—and fatal muſt have been the conteſt, had arms been reſorted to. It may rationally be ſuppoſed, that humanity dictated the diſtribution of ſuch a ſum, as a compenſation to men, who, either from ſituation or circumſtances, muſt have been loſers by the buſineſs; or, who, by their endeavours to promote ſo beneficial a treaty, merited the reward of their labors. Dr. Smollet writing upon this ſubject, expreſ-

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ſes himſelf, thus, "The majority of both "nations believed that the treaty would "produce violent convulſions, or, at "beſt, prove ineffectual. But we now "ſee it has been attended with none of the "calamities that were prognoſticated; "that it quietly took effect, and fully an- "ſwered all the purpoſes for which it was "intended. Hence, we may learn, that "many great difficulties are ſurmounted, "becauſe they are not ſeen by thoſe who "direct the execution of any great pro- "ject; and that many ſchemes, which "theory deems impracticable, will yet "ſucceed in the experiment."

The foundation of the rebellions, which afterwards took place in that kingdom, was laid at a period before the Union exiſted. Every ſource of hope, was then, certainly abſtracted from the family of king James the ſecond:—Yet, we may fairly preſume, that theſe rebellions would at any rate have occurred, although that

Union never had been heard of.—It now almoſt amounts to a certainty, that the queen herſelf was favorable to the cauſe of her brother;—and a claim at that time ſo recognized; how can we wonder, that it ſhould afterwards have had ſo many abettors?—How fondly attached at every period, the Scots have been to the family of Stuart, need not be inſiſted upon!

But the author of the pamphlet alluded to, has thought proper in a ſtrain of abſurd declamation (not unlike the ſpurious rhetorick, of a French orator of the preſent day,) to obſerve, that before three years had elapſed, the treaty of Union was broke, and the paſſing of the malt tax is brought forward by him, as an inſtance of what may be expected by the Iriſh, from any ſimilar treaty. Could he not have alſo remarked, that by the 20th clauſe of the Articles of Union, all heretable juriſdictions, &c. were reſerved to the owners; yet notwithſtanding this

treaty,—

treaty,—in the year 1747 an act paſſed for aboliſhing them. This though a complete emancipation of the Highlanders, from a badge of feudal ſervitude;—and although it might be juſtly argued, that until then, the Scots had acquired no individual freedom, and but a partial advantage from the treaty;—yet, according to that author's mode of reaſoning, being in breach of a law paſſed 40 years before, no allowance was to be made for conſequences, unforeſeen, when that clauſe was under deliberation. Why did he not alſo remark, that in the year 1708—when an invaſion of Scotland by the Pretender was expected,—A bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, under the title of an act for improving the Union of the two kingdoms, relative to trials for high treaſon in Scotland, which with ſome ſmall variation, were in future to be regulated, according to the manner of the Engliſh proceedings. Both of them were complete infractions of the Union; yet I ſhall take

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it upon me to ſay, the conſtitution ſo far from being underminded, was ſupported by them; and had not the treaty been broke, the kingdom of Great Britain muſt have been endangered.—As to the paſſing the bill for the malt tax, and the conſequent movement of another, for diſſolving the Union, it may juſtly be obſerved that the ſpirit of oppoſition more than any other circumſtance was the author of the meaſure; and how do I ſupport this?—but by obſerving, that all the Whig Members voted for the diſſolution of that treaty, which they had ſo eagerly promoted—whilſt the Tories, ſtrenuouſly ſupported the meaſure, againſt which they had once argued with ſuch vehemence. In ſetting forth all the complaints brought at this time by the Scotch againſt the Britiſh government in conſequence of the violation of the Union,—Mr. Spencer in his pamphlet obſerves, that it was then alſo ſtated as a grievance that they had no more a council in Scotland. In juſtice he

ſhould

ſhould have remarked, that it was left in the power of the parliament of Great Britain to continue or ſet it aſide. It would be hard indeed, if in the hiſtory of a noble heart, every unfortunate action, which paſſion, thoughtleſſneſs, or inebriety gave riſe to, were to be conſidered as ſtudied malevolence; and the unintended, unforeſeen conſequences of one ſingle deviation from the ſtricteſt virtue, attributed to the moſt vicious propenſities. So in the hiſtory of a great and generous nation like Great Britain—ever active in the cauſe of freedom, ever ſtrenuous to promote it—it would be abſurd indeed, to aſcribe ſome particular inſtances of oppreſſion, as a conſtitutional failing.—Party politics may countenance many diſorders, the conſtitution diſowns them; and when weighed in her ballance the hand of time has ever rectified them. Let the ſtream of Britiſh politics be at any time ever ſo muddy, it is fed by ſprings, too numerous and too pure, to endanger its channel being choaked, and the bark on which

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our fortunes are entruſted, ſtranded and ingulphed. Whilſt the ſun of the greater nations of Europe ſeems ſetting, ours is yet in its meridian glory—Let us be true to ourſelves, and united we may brave the world.

As I have before obſerved, this illeberal barriſter has contended, without bringing any argument to his ſupport, that the Union has been prejudicial to Scotland; and that in the natural progreſs of civilization throughout Europe, that country might poſſibly have been raiſed to a far more proſperous ſtate than it is at preſent. It poſſibly might—What reſtrictions, what circumſtances have prevented it? Here my Author is ſilent—he has looked backward indeed, to ſome purpoſe, and with equal effect, I doubt not has he ſearched into the depth of futurity, when he forebodes the moſt diſmal effects from a Union, to the Iriſh nation. If the effects are ſuch as Scotland has experienced, ſhe has little reaſon

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to fear them. To thoſe who are acquainted with that country I have no wiſh to ſpeak, let me adviſe thoſe who are ignorant of it, to conſult ſome other author than that gentleman whoſe illiberal abuſe ſets him beneath contempt, and who will but find ſupporters amongſt thoſe, who derive their intelligence, from ſources equally ridiculous. Let me aſk this intelligent gentleman—did he ever ſee Scotland?—I ſuſpect not—his knowledge and travels ſeem to be equally circumſcribed; and bigotted as he ſeems to opinions, which have their foundation only in ignorance, it would perhaps be abſurd in me to inform him, that Scotland has not yet departed from her reputation in learning; her extenſive acquirements in agriculture, argue moſt feelingly with thoſe, who examining the face of the country, are capable of calculating her reſources in this reſpect, and the daily advancement made by her towards perfection.—Her encreaſing commerce ſpeaks for itſelf; out of what has Glaſgow, Paiſley, Greenock,

Greenock, &c. ariſen? Edinburgh it is ſaid has remained ſtationary.—Indeed!—How old is the new town of Edinburgh?—or if that is no ſign of its advancement in commerce—why ſhould there have been lately a neceſſity for an act of Parliament for enlarging the harbour of Leith? A neceſſity long acknowledged, before that ever the act was introduced, to the Britiſh Houſe of legiſlature. But Scotland it is ſaid, by the Union, was deprived of a very advantageous trade with France.—Once for all let me remark to thoſe carpers, who conſider argument as proof; that England could at any time reſtrict the trade of Scotland;—and from the relative ſituation of the countries, reduce it to nothing. And is it from France Scotland was to derive its advantageous trade? If ſo, Scotland muſt, during almoſt the whole of this century, have been at war with England, to have profited by ſuch a commerce. What then muſt have been its ſituation?—A brave, a hardy independent nation!—But poor, uncultivated, and

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cheriſhing in inacceſſible mountains, a liberty that all the power of Edward the 1ſt never could fetter,

The ſettlement of the Scots at the Iſthmus of Darien, is intruded as a ſtrong example of the ſpirit of enterpriſe in the Scottiſh nation before the Union—a ſpirit in all likelihood to encreaſe; the author, however, when firſt adverting to the circumſtance, has forgot to mention, that it was owing to the jealouſy of the Engliſh government, that this deſign was fruſtrated;—a jealouſy which inimical and deſtructive as it was in this inſtance, it may with confidence be ſaid, that in every other enterpriſe of the kind, it would have interfered with equal ſucceſs. I have never denied the ambition of Scotland to become a flouriſhing nation. I have merely attempted to prove that its ſituation, added to the jealouſy of England, muſt have ever prevented her from acquiring that ſucceſs in commercial enterpriſes, that affluence as a nation, which, prior to

a Union with her ancient enemy, ſhe had not the ſmalleſt pretenſions to.

In the proſecution of ſyſtems, where, either a radical reform, or ſuch a change is attempted, as militates againſt former precedents,—it is contradictory to the hiſtory of mankind to expect, that the moſt upright meaſures alone will be reſorted to, to effect the object in view.—But to cry down the principal, becauſe the methods adopted may appear partly unjuſtifiable, none but ignorance itſelf will attempt.—We are all eager to acknowledge the bleſſings we enjoy, as members of the Proteſtant Communion.—We can now at a diſtance trace the gradual expanſion, of the human mind, under its auſpices;—freed from the bigotry of perſecution, unfettered by ſyſtems which left hardly the liberty of thought.—Yet look back, and ſcan the progreſs of that reformation, particularly in Great Britain.

—It

—It grew up thro' a complication of ſuch crimes, as might be almoſt ſuppoſed to marr the very foundation of public virtue, —of public faith.—But inauſpicious as were its firſt auſpices,—time ſoftened its features,—and with exultation, do we now recur to it, as the deareſt pledge we enjoy, of that liberty, ſo often ſealed by the blood of our anceſtors.—

What therefore would be thought of that man, who would now venture to defame the reformation, becauſe the characters of ſome of our firſt reformers, militated againſt every principle of ſociety?—Would he not be told, to look to the reformation itſelf, as the beſt apology for its ſupporters?—Why then ſhould I go further?—Let thoſe petulant critics, who pretend to decry the character of a nation, (whoſe merits they are ſo ill qualified to eſtabliſh) from the conduct of ſome individuals, inſtrumental in bringing forward their Union with England,—look up to

thoſe bleſſings, which both countries acknowledge from ſuch a meaſure, as their ſureſt guide to criticiſm;—ſhould they wiſh to reſt that criticiſm upon the broad baſis of public utility!

I muſt confeſs myſelf at a loſs to follow the gentlemen lately referred to through many of their arguments. In ſpeaking of the rebellion in Scotland, it is remarked by the author of the pamphlet, entitled "Reaſons againſt the Union," that it is clear, that from theſe inſtances, the Scots were tinctured with French principles for a generation after the Union. This, God knows, is as unfounded an argument as could be well advanced. I have already ſpoke to the ſubject. The Scots were indeed attached to the family of Stewart, as the heirs of their ancient monarchy:—but from ſuch a predilection the author of the pamphlet above alluded to, might as well have argued, that they were attached to the Catholic religion, as

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to the Court of France. And does this gentleman pretend to ſay, that from Great Britain, Ireland drew the venom which hath tinctured her principles, with what I may juſtly ſtyle the blaſphemies of the French revolution?—Impudent aſſertion! In the boſom of Ireland has long been nurtured thoſe ſeeds of rebellion, which, to the ruin of thouſands, burſt forth at laſt; a rebellion originating partly from an oppreſſion exerciſed by themſelves—partly from the moſt execrable treaſons that ever were planned. Where were the riſings in either England or Scotland?—Fools and deſperadoes may be any where found:—but the people were too wiſe, and too honeſt, to place either their happineſs or fortunes, at the mercy of unprincipled villains.

It is from this conſideration, chiefly that Ireland ſhould look up to a Union with England, as the ſource of her future proſperity. It is this conſideration which may prompt England at this moment, to propoſe

poſe a Union with Ireland, as a bulwark to her own ſecurity—for the ſafety of both realms.

But it is ſaid, that the relative ſituation and circumſtances of Ireland, with England, are ſo materially different with theſe of Scotland, at the time of the Union, that no argument brought forward, to favour the Union of Great Britain, can poſſibly apply in this inſtance. In ſome points it may be ſo. There is not here the ſame apprehenſion at preſent, as there was prevalent in Scotland, that the Crown of the two realms ſhould be ſeparated. Yet even that might be diſputed by thoſe, who, ſtudying what might have been the effects of the late rebellion, had it been ſucceſsful; perhaps wiſely conſider, a Union, as the moſt effectual bar to any ſuch attemps in future.—There are not here the ſame grounds for apprehenſion, which had the family of Stuart gained poſſeſſion of the Scottiſh throne, at ſome future period, might have refuted

reſulted to that country, viz. that the Roman Catholic religion, might firſt have found a protector and afterwards an eſtablſhment:—Yet thoſe who calculate upon the power of the Roman Catholics in this country, and the advantages they would naturally have reaped, had the late deſperate meaſures been ſucceſsful; may poſſibly conſider, that the Proteſtant intereſt of Ireland, can look for certain protection no where, but in a Union.—Ireland indeed has a more ſucceſsful commerce, than Scotland enjoyed previous to the Union:—Yet, that a Union would bring an incalculable encreaſe of commerce to this country, is ſelf-evident to every one, thoſe excepted, who are wilfully blind.—There are indeed ſome contented ſouls in this country, who diſdaining an obligation, and ignorant at the ſame time how to requite it,—wiſh Ireland to truſt to its own perſeverance, and prognoſticate a ſucceſs equal to their moſt ardent expectations.—To theſe I could almoſt ſay "my honeſt friends, you are already

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" ſo much obliged to England, that to at-
" tempt at remuneration, is upon your
" part impoſſible, upon ours, unwiſhed
" for; the moſt thankleſs indeed, are
" ſometimes thoſe, who, like you, are
" glutted by a proſperity, they have reaped
" from friends, whom they can ne-
" ver expect to repay. Accept however
" ſtill theſe kindneſſes, which have help-
" ed to raiſe you to ſo proſperous a ſituati-
" on;—nor from an unjuſtifiable pride, re-
" ject that aſſiſtance, which hath ſo often
" ſupported you, and call down upon your
" heads at ſome future period, the
" curſes of your children." But it is ar-
gued by one of its oppoſers, that from the ſituation of Ireland, God Almighty never intended ſuch a circumſtance ſhould take place as a Union of Great Britain and Ireland. Perhaps this gentleman reaſons from revelation!—if ſo—what a pity for both kingdoms, that the Omnipotent had not conſulted him in the buſineſs; we might then have hoped, his patriotiſm

triotiſm and foreſight, could have effected what now there is ſo abſolute a bar put to. This hypercritic recollects me of Sir Godfrey Kneller's anſwer to Pope, when remarking to him, how much more perfect the world would have been, had the Almighty had his aſſiſtance.—" 'Fore God " Sir" replied Kneller, " I believe ſo."— Yet after all, I ſhould ſuſpect his arguments are drawn from a ſource of intelligence, at which we have all an equal means to arrive at. But I muſt confeſs, I can obſerve nothing in the ſituation of Ireland as to Great Britain which bars ſuch a proſpect. I can figure each of them in turns—mutual bulwarks to the other.—I ſee deficiences in the ſituation of each, which each can ſupply.—I can at leaſt flatter myſelf, that in the mind of every honeſt man, confidence from mutual benefits, will ſucceed to jealouſy;—enough in itſelf at any time, to double the ſtrength of a country.

With thoſe who muſt be miſerable, ſhould they have no opportunity of declaiming:—with thoſe to whom right or wrong are equally acceptable, with whom, ſelf-intereſt or the gratification of party ſpirit, is the moſt material conſideration; it is alike indifferent what arguments they bring forward to advance their purpoſe. The veil of ſophiſtry may either totally conceal their fallacious tendency, or caſt a ſhade on their imperfections. Party publications may in general excuſe ſuch a reflection; nor do I think that the ſpirit of ſome of theſe lately uſhered into the world, upon the preſent queſtion, will make me bluſh for the cenſure. Look to thoſe which are written directly againſt the Union, and which, in place of treating the ſubject in a candid, liberal manner condemn it in toto, and can find no argument poſſibly to juſtify it.—To believe them, the ruin of Ireland is as certain, as that the ſea ſurrounds it; nor do I doubt, but that ſuch patriotic ſentiments, will gain many votaries amongſt thoſe who

who never yet thought for themſelves. De Lolme, ſpeaking of the trade of Ireland in the year 1780, makes an obſervation ſomewhat a of ſimilar tendency; that, "the reſtraints "on it, though detrimental, were not of "that calamitous nature, which was re-"preſented by political ſpeakers, even in "the Britiſh Parliament, at the time we "are ſpeaking of, or which was no doubt "believed by many individuals in Ireland." ——This remark I hope will juſtify me.—Theſe boiſterous demagogues take hold of a popular ſubject, to wreſt it for their own purpoſes; let the peel be ever ſo bitter, there will be found fools to ſwallow it;—paſſion too often blinds the human mind; nor is it, until after circumſtances have occurred, which lead to more temperate conſideration, that they take time to curſe the fiend that has blinded their judgement.

I now bid adieu to a ſubject, which perhaps in the opinion of moſt, it might have "been

been better, had I not intermeddled with. However inconcluſive my arguments may be eſteemed, my intentions at leaſt have been good; and moſt fortunate ſhall I eſteem myſelf, whatever criticiſm may attach to theſe pages, ſhould I prevail upon others, whoſe pretenſions and abilities deſervedly bear ſuperior weight with the public; to expoſe thoſe arguments which, under the maſk of patriotiſm, the oppoſers of the Union have but brought forward, to cover purpoſes, ſelfiſh at beſt, perhaps of a more vicious tendency.—With pride then ſhould every lover of his country behold in that Union, the bulwark of their conſtitution: —the torch which ſhall guide them, through their preſent maze of diſtraction:—a mine whoſe treaſures ages ſhall not exhauſt;— and a barrier againſt thoſe outrages, which threaten to bring back this kingdom to the age of Gothic barbarity.

FINIS.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

PRESENT STATE

OF Mrazee

PARTY AND PREJUDICE

IN

IRELAND.

WITH REMARKS ON A PUBLICATION INTITLED, "A FAIR REPRESENTATION OF THE PRESENT POLITICAL STATE OF IRELAND,"

WRITTEN BY PATRICK DUIGENAN, L.L.D.

BY A MEMBER OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

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OBSERVATIONS, &c.

"To raiſe and irritate party againſt party unwittingly to "ſcourge each other, that a common intereſt may no where be "found or felt, and that all may finally be ſubjugated."

CARTWRIGHT.

THE political malady which has long preyed upon the Conſtitution of Ireland is arrived at its criſis. It is now to be ſeen whether the violence of the diſorder will annihilate its exiſtence; or whether it retains ſufficient vigor to throw off and eradicate the peſtilential evil under which it labours.

The funds of virulence have been exhauſted to diſunite and appal the nation, endeavours have been made to extinguiſh virtue by open corruption and undiſguiſed intimidation. Thoſe attempts have been made by the moſt degrading adulation,

the moſt hypocritical profeſſions, and by every abuſe to ſet up the purchaſed voice of the people againſt the unbought deciſions of their repreſentatives, and they now ſeek to cover the diſgrace of their new defeat by the groſſeſt exaggerations and the moſt unfounded aſſertions.

We muſt take advantage of the experience which the hoſtility of our opponents has afforded us. We muſt learn from their conduct how to extricate ourſelves from our preſent difficulties: They have ſought our ſlavery by our diviſion. We muſt maintain our liberty by our union. They have taught the nation its error in not preventing internal animoſities, by timely conceſſion, and demonſtrated the neceſſity of the total oblivion of them.

Let every Proteſtant ſeriouſly conſider whether or no there is any real foundation for the opinion "that the emancipation of the Catholics would be "attended with bad conſequences."

To what could it give riſe, that would enable them to put their hoſtile intentions, if any exiſted, into execution? At preſent the Catholic has every thing

thing open to him on equal terms with the Proteſtant, except the Houſes of Parliament and the Patronage of the Crown. Before you determine to withhold the participation of them, reflect upon the conſequences of theſe partial reſtraints.

A religious controverſy—complaints—demands—threats—tumult and rebellion on the one part.—Reproaches—alarms—oppreſſion and coercion on the other. National diſſenſions and diſturbances. Weakneſs and ſlavery.

If you continue theſe reſtraints, you make permanent the cauſe of your misfortunes. If you remove them, you apply an immediate remedy. Why then heſitate to do ſo? It is ſaid, "Becauſe "the Catholics will acquire all the power, will "monopolize all the property, and will extermi-"nate all the Proteſtants,"—That is as much as to ſay. "The acquired privileges of ſitting in Parlia-"ment and of holding offices will rouſe in the Ca-"tholic body ſuch a ſpirit of ingratitude, and arm "them with ſuch potent weapons, that that event "will immediately take place, which united Ire-"land aſſiſted by ambitious and all-conquering "France was unable to accompliſh. The whole

" ſtate will be revolutionized. The property will " of itſelf, as it were, call upon the Catholics to " take poſſeſſion of it, and the Proteſtants will at " one and the ſame moment be deprived of all " ſenſe and exortion. The Clerk of the Houſe of " Lords will have no ſooner pronounced, *Le Roi* " *le veut*, than Peers and Commoners will fall " in one lifeleſs heap on the floor of the Houſe of " Lords. The mace will transform itſelf into a " croſs. The tapeſtry on the wall will inſtantane- " ouſly become reverſed, and inſtead of the Siege " of Derry and the Battle of the Boyne embelliſh- " ed with the Death of General Schomberg, the " Battle of Roſs will ornament one ſide of the " Houſe, the attack upon Arklow the other, " and Father Murphy dying will add conſiderable " luſtre to the whole."

Theſe are the ſuppoſed formidable conſequences of emancipation. But where is the foundation of theſe ghaſtly viſions? Is it in the minds of thoſe who can reaſon diſpaſſionately on the preſent ſtate of politics? Or are ſuch ideas cheriſhed in the imaginations of men who have been duped by a perfidious policy, who have had their paſſions rouſed, their apprehenſions excited, their property

plundered

plundered, their lives endangered, men who have experienced all the horrors of rapine and bloodſhed?

Proteſtants of Ireland, you have been deceived by a policy as invidious as it was cruel. That you had prejudices againſt your Catholic Brethren was as natural, as the making uſe of thoſe prejudices for an infamous political purpoſe is abominable.—Your fore-fathers were the rivals and open enemies of the Catholics. But time contributed much to heal the wound. A century of peace had obliterated the memory of a controverſy of centuries. Religious animoſity had ſunk into one common exertion to place Ireland in that rank among nations which ſhe is entitled to enjoy. Her ſtrength had augmented with national tranquillity and national *unanimity*. The volunteers knew no diſtinction between Proteſtant and Catholic. Under their guardianſhip the kingdom felt not internal inſurrection, feared not external invaſion, demanded and procured its independence, and had any attempt been made to annihilate its rights, it would have been victorious in defending them. But the ſtrength of Ireland became the cauſe of alarm, and

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her temporary happineſs has proved the ſource of her infelicity.

We have ſeen the Catholics inſtigated to come forward with their claims.—We have ſeen the Proteſtants terrified into a refuſal of them.—We have ſeen the Catholics recommended from the Throne, and part of their claims granted. We have ſeen a Lord Lieutenant ſent over for the expreſs purpoſe of granting the remainder of them, and when on the point of ſo doing, recalled. We have ſeen a rebellion to ariſe at maturity without the neceſſary ſteps being taken to prevent it, but on the other hand every pretended effort is freſh cauſe of its advancement. We have ſeen in ſhort; the Catholics inſulted and deceived, the Proteſtants duped and degraded, the nation almoſt deſtroyed by the quarrels of its own people, and then its weakneſs made the foundation of its ſlavery.—What does the whole of this ſyſtem amount to? Briefly this, an infamous Machiavellian attempt to undermine the peace, the wealth and the freedom of Iriſhmen. A plot and foul conſpiracy hatched in the moment of diſappointment, nurtured by jealouſy and reſentment and matured by unexampled prodigality and inſatiable ambition. In this manner

manner was that unanimity, which procured for Ireland every bleſſing and happineſs, completely annihilated. In this manner was the bane of Iriſh improvement and tranquillity again fermented. Thus was a great nation, which had juſt experienced the happy effects of the oblivion of religious diſſenſion, and had approached to that ſtate when the adoption of a liberal ſyſtem of conceſſion and conciliation would have ſecured to her her independent legiſlature and her independent commerce, rent in twain by a mercenary and contemptible faction.

But however great the ſucceſs of this faction may have hitherto been, its exertions will terminate in defeat and diſgrace. Its charm is broken, and the day is not far diſtant when it will either retire with ſhame, or be overcome by the virtue of the Houſe of Commons ſupported by the voice of the people at large.

The errors into which many individuals have fallen, placing too much confidence in the faith and honour of their rulers, will ſpeedily be detected. The Orangeman will perceive that the danger of emancipation is only imaginary, and merely held out for the purpoſe of fomenting religious diſputes.

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The Catholic will become ſenſible of the evil tendency of diſcord, and will ſee that he has been deprived of a participation of equal liberty more by the interference of thoſe whoſe intent it was to foment jealouſies, than of thoſe who apparently have been the oppreſſors—Men of all ranks and deſcriptions will reaſon on the ſituation of their country, and each, by having experienced the fatal effects of diviſion, will readily adopt thoſe ſentiments and purſue that line of conduct which will moſt completely extinguiſh it—for it is only neceſſary to conſider the parties themſelves in reſpect to their numbers and particular intereſts, to behold at once in its true light the falſe and unfounded animoſity which has nearly enſlaved both of them.

Can any Proteſtant ſeriouſly argue, that the extermination of the Catholics is neceſſary for his ſafety and welfare?—ſuppoſe it to take place. How would the Proteſtants be ſituated? inhabitants of a country wanting 3-4ths of its population; without commerce, without agriculture, without the means of protecting their enfeebled nation for one moment, againſt the attacks of an open foe or falſe friend. If then the exiſtence of the Catholics is eſſential, if they have been uſeful even in the degraded ſtate, they have long been kept, how much

much more ſerviceable would they be, if they received every poſſible encouragement?

Let us examine the conſequences of reſtrictions, of the induſtrious and political efforts of the Catholics, as affecting the intereſts of the Proteſtants.

The property of each individual increaſes in proportion to the general opulence of the nation—The wealth acquired by merchants is ultimately applied in purchaſing land. The advancement therefore of commercial wealth directly tends to increaſe the value of land. Manufactories enable thoſe employed in them to uſe to a certain degree the ſmaller luxuries of life, the conſumption of the produce of land tends to increaſe the profits ariſing from it; and therefore to raiſe the rent of land. If then almoſt all the landed property of Ireland is in the hands of Proteſtants; is it not their firſt and greateſt duty and intereſt, to encourage every attempt made by the Catholics to promote commerce and manufactories? Why then refuſe to give the Catholics, a full participation in the liberty you enjoy yourſelves? Complete liberty is the very life of trade. Without it, it is impoſſible for any nation or any body of men, to be ſucceſsful in their commercial ſpecula-

tions, or to have the means of exerting their natural powers or inclinations. Every reſtriction which the Catholics feel, in conſequence of their preſent ſituation, more or leſs diminiſhes the property of every Proteſtant in the kingdom. Let any man conſider the proportion of the Catholics to the Proteſtants, and will he not be forcibly perſuaded, that trade and agriculture can never become general without the aſſiſtance of the Catholics? That they may become general, muſt be deſired by every one, and as every one is willing to exert himſelf for that purpoſe, the Catholics muſt become rich; and they muſt alſo acquire a portion of power, becauſe the acquiſition of power muſt follow the poſſeſſion of wealth—If you admit the Catholics to form a part of the legiſlature, that power will be converted to promote the good of the nation. If you do not, you cannot be ſurprized, if it is in ſome inſtances miſapplied—no man can be ſo weak as to imagine, that religious opinion or hoſtility can be ſubdued by reſiſtance.

We find throughout, the hiſtories of the civilized nations, the abſurdity of this doctrine. What have been the fruits of the ſyſtem of fines and penalties, which has been acted upon, ſince the year 1690? The

The natural efforts of your people, reſtricted,—poverty,—oppreſſion,—inſurrection,—and rebellion. Can you then expect peace, and amity during the continuance of your reſiſtance to the emancipation of the Catholics, and will they not be the immediate reſult of your ceaſing to oppoſe it?—The certain conſequences of it, will be a riſe in the number of years purchaſe for which land would ſell, a riſe in the rent of land, and domeſtic peace—and though many may be of a different opinion, and may have brought themſelves to believe that the ruin and extermination of the Proteſtant will accompany it, on reflection they will find that they formed their opinions, rather on the doctrines of thoſe who have been employed to deceive them, than on the dictates of their own underſtandings. For what reaſon is there to expect ſuch injurious conſequences? Will the mere poſſeſſion of a portion of the ſoil produce this effect? It undoubtedly will not. But effects of a very oppoſite nature. Every Catholic who becomes poſſeſſed of landed property, will at the ſame time become moſt firmly poſſeſſed of a zealous attachment to whatever ſecures to him the peaceable enjoyment of it, and the greateſt profits. He will revere thoſe Laws which give him his title and his rent—he will ſupport that Conſtitution which

gives

gives efficacy to thoſe laws, and that connexion with Great Britain, which upholds and protects that Conſtitution. Let the Proteſtant aſk himſelf why he is a loyal ſubject. The anſwer which preſents itſelf is this. "Becauſe it is my intereſt, to protect that "conſtitution and government which protects me and my property."—If there was a marked feature in the late Rebellion, was it not that of the poſſeſſors of property, Catholics and Proteſtants contending againſt thoſe who had no property? and had it not been for the reſtraints, under which the Catholics have ſo long laboured; inſtead of multitudes of wretches who had nothing to loſe by the rebellion, there would have been numbers of Catholic country gentlemen, who would never have permitted the growth of a conſpiracy, which by one party was connived at for the purpoſe of enſlaving the nation., and promoted by the mob for the purpoſe of equalizing and plundering all property whatſoever.

Do not refuſe to concede and conciliate. Do not ſay, that the admiſſion of the Catholics into the Houſe of Commons will be giving to them the whole power of the government. If even one hundred Catholic members ſhould be returned,

what

what reaſon is there to ſuppoſe that any difference of opinion would exiſt between the two bodies—would not ſome be found voting with government, and ſome of them againſt it. Could they bring forward a Catholic motion, no, no motion of the kind would be thought of. Would not the conſtant meeting of the gentlemen of the two religions produce familiarity and friendſhip, and would not theſe deſcend and ſpread amongſt the lower ranks? The Catholics would vote the ſupplies, would amend, repeal, or enact laws which tended to public tranquillity and proſperity, becauſe the Catholics would be intereſted in having the nation and their property defended.

Iriſhmen, you are not ſo divided in your intereſts as the ſucceſs of artful doctrines has taught you to believe; you are not of ſuch diſcordant natures, as to be unable to act with unanimity and victory. Reflect upon your individual acquirements—You are men ſimilar in form, born and nouriſhed in one common ſoil, and though educated with different ideas of your religious duties, in fact neceſſarily actuated by ſimilar views and ſentiments in every thing, which concerns your political exiſtence. If you quarrel about the emptineſs of perſonal influence,

ence, you fight for your own bondage. If you apply your minds to what is of a trifling nature, you neglect your duty. If you are to be rouſed only to contend about the wrongs and the rights of your particular and private ſituations, you are not worthy of the names of men, or of the poſſeſſion of a nation—let the cavilling of ſects ſlumber. Firſt ſeek for your general welfare, and then let the ſucceſs of unanimity, become the remedy of all partial and perſonal animoſity. Maintain that which, when unanimous you were able to procure, the exiſtence of your own laws, and your own legiſlature. Away with that perfidious cheat and foul doctrine, which teaches you, that your proſperity cannot be attained, through mutual confidence in each other. Away with the alarms of extinguiſhments and exterminations, of Proteſtant tyranny and Catholic maſſacre. Let them ſink before the united exertions of all, for one laſting fabrick of Iriſh liberty, and Iriſh happineſs. Let the Proteſtant ſhake hands with the Catholic, and let them join to diſappoint a faction which ſought their ſlavery by their diſunion, and its own aggrandizement by their ruin. Let them ſhow the world, that they can forget and forgive; and that Iriſh liberty is the paramount object of Iriſh Proteſtants and Iriſh Catholics.

Since

Since the foregoing pages were written, a publication very unexpectedly, appeared entitled *A fair repreſentation of the preſent political ſtate of Ireland* by PATRICK DUIGENAN, L. L. D.—unexpectedly, becauſe it was conceived impoſſible for any man of ſuch reputed talents as the Doctor's to ſend forth into the world a ſimilar compendium of miſchief.

The object of the following remarks on it, is to ſupport what has been already ſtated in reſpect to the emancipation of the Catholics; and to prevent, if poſſible, the obſolete and deluſive doctrines of the learned Doctor, from rendering more permanent than ever the cauſe of all our misfortunes, viz. religious diſſenſion.

The doctor argues from the principles contained in the decree of the Council of Lateran; the oath which every Roman Biſhop is obliged to take; the repeated rebellions and the cruel conduct of the rebels, and the conduct of foreign nations towards Proteſtants, that if the Iriſh Catholics were entruſted with power, it would be exerted to exterminate the Iriſh Proteſtants, &c. &c.

He then ſays, by admitting Romaniſts to form

part

part of the ſupreme legiſlative power, they will ſubvert the "Proteſtant eſtabliſhment in Ireland from the foundation, (27)."

As to his firſt poſition, it muſt be allowed that the facts he ſtates are all true. But it is equally clear that his concluſion is falſe.

The doctor ſome years ago was charged with holding language that would have become a politician of the 17th better than one of the 18th century. It is very evident that the charge was well founded, for notwithſtanding the number of years which have elapſed ſince it was made, the doctor has actually become a politician of the 13th century and as if tainted with the bigotry of that period in the year 1799, he tells the world that the Iriſh Catholics ſeek nothing leſs than the extermination of all Iriſh Proteſtants, becauſe the extermination of heretics is recommended by the Council of Lateran in the year 1215.—When the Council of Lateran made this decree, the Catholic religion had far advanced in building a fabric of univerſal dominion upon the foundation of univerſal ignorance, unbounded ſuperſtition, and total darkneſs. At the preſent time when Dr. Duigenan undertakes

to open the eyes of the Engliſh nation, and to teach the Iriſh Proteſtants how to take care of themſelves, and warns them of their danger by quoting this famous decree, the Catholic religion is deſtitute of a repreſentative of St. Peter, has been baniſhed from one great portion of Europe, and is daily ſinking in every other, before the light of civilization and erudition which has been hourly increaſing during the five centuries which have elapſed ſince the exiſtence of the 4th Council of Lateran.

As to the oath which the Romiſh Biſhops take, let one circumſtance be remembered, viz. that every Proteſtant Clergyman ſwears that he believes in the 39 articles.

But the learned doctor confides chiefly in the arguments he deduces from the Iriſh rebellions and the conduct of the rebels, to ſupport his ſentiments, and to terrify his Proteſtant Brethren from purſuing that line of conduct which will beſt promote their own happineſs.—He ſays, page 52. "The "Engliſh ſettled in Ireland before the reformation, "were for the moſt part always attached to Eng. "and: they depended on England for ſupport.

 "A con-

" A conſtant war was kept up between the Engliſh
" and ſettlers in a conſiderable diſtrict of Ireland
" called the Pale, and the native Iriſh: they would
" not mix or intermarry with them. The native
" Iriſh and theſe Engliſh ſettlers and their deſcen-
" dants, though inhabiting that part of Ireland for
" ſome centuries before, remained two *diſtinct* and
" *ſeparate* nations in the ſame iſland, and perſecut-
" ing each other in a predatory and deſtructive
" war with the utmoſt rancour; but no ſooner had
" the *reformation* been introduced into Ireland,
" which it was not with any very material effect till
" the reign of King James the firſt, than the na-
" tives and theſe Engliſh ſettlers began to *unite* and
" form alliances. Their mutual enmity abated,
" and they joined in a rancorous hatred of the
" Engliſh nation, and hoſtility to it; the old
" Engliſh ſettlers growing as inveterate as the na-
" tive Iriſh againſt the nation from which they
" ſprung, joining in all the ſchemes for ſevering
" the iſland from England for ever, and rendering
" it an independent ſtate. Such a project had been
" always cheriſhed by the native Iriſh, but was al-
" ways oppoſed by the Engliſh ſettlers till *after* the
" reformation. From ſuch a confederacy cement-
" ed by bigotry, ſprung Deſmond's and Ty-
" rone's

" rone's rebellions in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. " The horrible rebellion and maſſacre in that of " Charles the firſt, and the obſtinate deſtructive " rebellion in the reign of William and Mary, &c. " &c. In ſhort, all the calamities which, for the " courſe of two hundred years paſt and upwards, " have overwhelmed this country, in the catalogue " of which muſt be included the late rebellion, and " the murder of all Proteſtants who fell into the " hands of the inſurgents, have had their real ſource " in the popery of part of the inhabitants of Ire- " land."——By this ſtatement in the firſt inſtance we ſee the Iriſh at enmity with the Engliſh ſettlers who were attached to England. We next ſee the reformation introduced into Ireland. We then ſee the Iriſh united with the Engliſh ſettlers, and then rebellions and maſſacres—that is, before the reformation, a great part of the Catholic inhabitants of the kingdom were attached to England. After the reformation, this part joined with the native Iriſh in oppoſing her, and after the reformation the rebellions of Tyrone, Deſmond, &c. ſucceſſively took place—was not then the introduction of the reformation by the doctor's own ſtatement, the cauſe of the hoſtility of the Engliſh ſettlers, the cauſe of theſe rebellions, and " *the real ſource of all*

"*the calamities which, for the courſe of two hun-*
"*dred years have overwhelmed this unhappy coun-*
"*try?*"—It may be true that the *Popery* part of the inhabitants of Ireland have endeavoured to ſeparate this country from England, have engaged in rebellions, and have maſſacred whole thouſands of Proteſtants. But if no ſuch facts took place before the reformation, but on the contrary by the doctor's own account all the Engliſh Catholic ſettlers were loyal ſubjects, and proved themſelves to be ſo by maintaining the kingdom for their mother country, by continually hazarding their perſons and their property in wars with the native Iriſh, is it not evident, that it was the reformation, and the circumſtances attending it, which made them enemies to England, friends with thoſe they had oppoſed, and abettors of rebellions, &c. &c.

It cannot be denied that had any other religion been the religion of the country when the Engliſh government endeavoured to eſtabliſh the Proteſtant religion, that it might have been effected without attempts at ſeparation, rebellions, &c. But becauſe the Engliſh government thought proper to force a religion on the inhabitants of a kingdom againſt their inclinations, and very much againſt the

the principles of their own religion, can the evil conſequences which aroſe be attributed juſtly to the exiſtence of the original religion? But muſt this not totally be the reſult of the injudicious attempt to ſubvert it? Particularly when it is recollected that no force, no art and no intimidation was left untried in order to compel the nation to receive the promiſed boon which was offered to them.—The introduction therefore of reformation was in the beginning, according to Dr. Duigenan's own ſtatement, the ſole cauſe of the firſt attempts on the part of the Engliſh ſettlers to throw off their dependance on England; and the adhering to that ſyſtem of reformation, and the violent and unjuſtifiable meaſures which were adopted by the Engliſh government in order to bring it about, has been the cauſe of thoſe original Engliſh ſettlers adhering to their ſyſtem of reſiſtance and rebellion, and "*the real ſource* "*of all the calamities which for a courſe of two* "*hundred years have overwhelmed this unhappy* "*country.*" Here at once is the whole ſyſtem of the learned doctor's reaſoning overthrown, his grand concluſion, the foundation of his whole fabric, ſhewn to be falſe, and that from the very premiſes made uſe of to ſupport it—and inſtead of

Popery

Popery being the cauſe of our misfortunes, and the extinction of it being neceſſary to remove thoſe misfortunes, we ſee the meaſures adopted to put it down, to be the real cauſe and a perſeverance in theſe meaſures the certain ſource of every public calamity.

But the learned Doctor is not ſatisfied to promote his doctrines by falſe and ſophiſtical reaſoning, but he alſo endeavours to acquire proſelytes by every inſtrument of alarm and intimidation—and this he does, not only by telling us that if we had lived in 1315 we ſhould have been exterminated, that if we had lived in the reign of Queen Mary we ſhould have been burned, that if we had lived in the year 1641 we ſhould have been maſſacred, but alſo by ſaying "in moſt Roman countries, "ſuch as the Church deems Hereticks, or even "*ſuſpects* of being ſo, are impriſoned by eccleſiaſtical officers in eccleſiaſtical priſons, *and* they "are *burned* by temporal officers when the church "pronounces them hereticks irreclaimable, and "delivers them over to the ſecular arm, &c. &c." The object of this paſſage is to make us believe that all the preſent Catholic countries, as Spain, Portugal, &c. burn all hereticks, and therefore, as Ireland will become a Catholic country after the

Catholics

Catholics are emancipated, all Iriſh Proteſtants, being hereticks, will be burnt alſo. This language can only be made uſe of for the purpoſe of terrifying the ignorant! For it is well known that the inquiſitions in Spain and Portugal, and in every other Catholic country, have been long aboliſhed; that the Catholic religion by meeting with no reſiſtance is daily loſing ground; that it has been nearly annihilated at the univerſities in Spain and Portugal, and every where elſe where erudition has advanced. The revolution in France, the conqueſt of Italy by that country, and the active diſſemination of French principles, has nearly overthrown the religion of Rome; and if it ſurvives in Ireland, it will, in that kingdom only of Europe; and that in conſequence purely of the reſiſtance which men who act on ſimilar ſentiments as thoſe of the learned Doctor have given and continue to give to it.

Let us now conſider the ſecond leading argument contained in the *Fair Repreſentation of the preſent Political State of Ireland*, viz:—"By admitting Romaniſts to form part of the legiſlative "power of the ſtate, they will ſubvert the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment in Ireland from the foundation."

"tion."—Dr. Duigenan ſays, in ſupport of this argument.—"In a commercial country, property "is continually changing hands: landed eſtates, "where there is no reſtraint of alienation, change "maſters, not *ſo rapidly* as perſonal property, but "though in a flower, yet not leſs certain progreſ- "ſion: in the courſe of trade, the induſtrious and "diligent are continually emerging into opulence; "landed property in this country is every day at "market, and by purchaſe comes to the poſſeſſion "of the ſucceſsful merchant, mechanic, and far- "mer: hence if in Ireland the maſs of the peo- "ple, that is, five to one, be Romaniſts, though "at preſent the bulk of the property of the na- "tion be in the hands of Proteſtants, yet it will "ſhift into thoſe of Romaniſts, by a progreſſion "certain, and, conſidering the alledged diſpropor- "tion of numbers, not *very ſlow*, &c. If then "they be admitted to ſit in Parliament, they "muſt at a period *not* very diſtant, as property "ſhifts to their ſcale, be the repreſentatives in "Parliament of all the counties, and of all the "boroughs diſtinguiſhed by the name of Potwal- "loping, and by leſs rapid degrees, of all or moſt "of the other boroughs in the kingdom, that is, "they will in a ſhort time compoſe the whole, or

"at

" at leaſt a vaſt majority of the Houſe of Com-
" mons. Their Peers (at preſent indeed very
" few) will ſit in the Houſe of Lords; ſo that in
" our ſupreme legiſlative body they will form one,
" and infinitely the moſt powerful branch, and
" have a *conſiderable* influence in the ſecond, and
" will have power ſufficient to force the third or
" Regal branch to a compliance with all their
" ſchemes, and oblige it to fill all the great offices
" of the State with Romaniſts, and introduce as
" many of them as may amount to a majority into
" the Houſe of Peers. Hence it is obvious, that
" by admitting Romaniſts to form part of the ſu-
" preme legiſlative power of the State, they will
" by degrees ſwallow up the whole, awe the exe-
" cutive into their meaſures, and ſubvert the Pro-
" teſtant eſtabliſhment in Ireland from the founda-
" tion." By this ſtatement the Doctor lays down two poſitions, 1ſt. That if you admit the Catholics to ſit in Parliament, their power will increaſe very faſt, becauſe they will rapidly acquire property—2d. That when they obtain that power it will be made uſe of to ſubvert the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment.—That the power of the Catholics will increaſe in proportion as they amaſs property cannot be denied. But to ſhew that they will not

become rapidly wealthy, it will be only neceſſary to conſider the Doctor's own ſtatements, reſpecting the opulence and numbers of the Catholics and Proteſtants. And to prove that the Catholics will not abuſe power when they poſſeſs it, it will only be requiſite to reflect upon the individual intereſts of every man who poſſeſſes property and the impoſſibility of a part, or even the whole, of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons being able to controul the will of the Proteſtant Houſe of Peers, a Proteſtant Monarch and a large body of Proteſtant people.

Dr. Duigenan ſtates, the population of Ireland to be three millions, two millions Catholics and one million Proteſtants, "two millions of the inhabitants are ſo poor, that they cannot pay a yearly "tax of 4d. per head, without the greateſt diſtreſs. "Nine-tenths of theſe are Romaniſts," (page 28) that is 1800,000 of them; but as the whole body of Catholics amounts to but 2000,000, it appears that only 200,000 of them are above the very loweſt claſs of the ſociety—now as theſe one million Proteſtants, and only one-tenth of two millions of poor amongſt them, it follows that there are 800,000 in a flouriſhing condition, theſe 800,000 poſſeſs

poſſeſs almoſt all the landed and perſonal property of the kingdom. According to the Doctor, they exceed the Romaniſts in wealth, in a proportion of forty to one, (page 50) How then can it be maintained, that "property will ſhift into hands of the "Catholics, in a progreſſion *not very ſlow.*" In the firſt place the Catholics are very poor, and therefore have very little capital to trade upon; and are therefore unable to acquire wealth ſuddenly. In the next place the Proteſtants are rich, and therefore have the ready means of becoming much more ſo, and beſides that they are very induſtrious —But the Doctor in his poſition concerning the ſhifting of property, appears to believe that every guinea which a Catholic makes, will be a loſs of a guinea and a diminution of the capital of the Proteſtants. Whereas it is ſelf-evident, that ſince the capital of the nation is in the hands of the Proteſtants, in the proportion of forty to one; every Catholic who makes a guinea for himſelf, will make ſomething more than that ſum, for the Proteſtant that employs him. Hence it is ſelf-evident alſo, that for a conſiderable time the Proteſtants will become daily more opulent in proportion as the Catholics do, and that it is almoſt impoſſible, conſidering the ſuperior wealth and induſtry of the Pro-

teſtants, for the Catholics though in numbers in the proportion as two to one, even to equal the Proteſtants in wealth, and certainly never to ſurpaſs them.

But the Doctor's own words are the beſt demonſtration of his own error, for if the rich Proteſtants are in proportion to the rich Catholics as 800,000 to 200,000 or four to one and the quantity of property belonging to the former, in proportion to that belonging to the latter of forty to one, is it not on the face of the ſtatement ſufficiently manifeſt, that the aſſertion reſpecting the ſudden ſhifting of property is unfounded—ſo that in our ſupreme legiſlature the Catholics will *not* form one and infinitely the moſt powerful branch, *nor* will they have a conſiderable influence in the ſecond, *or* power ſufficient to force the third or regal branch to compliance with all their ſchemes, or oblige it to fill all the great offices of the ſtate with Romaniſts, and introduce as many of them as may amount to a majority into the Houſe of Peers. Hence it is obvious by the author's own ſtatement, that by admitting the Romaniſts to form a part of the ſupreme legiſlative power of the ſtate, they will *not* by degrees ſwallow up the whole, *nor* awe the executive

into

into their meaſures, *nor* ſubvert the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment of Ireland from the foundation.

But admitting the Doctor's aſſertion to be true reſpecting the ſhifting of property, it by no means follows that the power, which would reſult from it to the Catholics, would be exerted in ſubverting the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment—The Doctor's zeal makes him fly over centuries, the natures, circumſtances, and paticular inclinations of nations and individuals without the ſmalleſt diſcrimination. As he reaſons from the exiſting feelings of mankind five centuries ago, to ſhew that they are the ſame at the preſent moment, ſo in the preſent inſtance, he makes no allowance for a change of conduct on the part of the Catholics, when their ſituation will be completely altered—From the Catholics having been rebels in conſequence of the introduction of the reformation, and the endeavours which have been made to ſubvert their religion, and to plunder them of their property—The learned Doctor draws this admirable and true logical concluſion, "that they will be ten times more furious rebels when all attempts to ſubvert their religion ſhall ceaſe; when their property ſhall be ſecured to them; when they ſhall be confided in,

and

and not miſtruſted, when they ſhall be treated with attention and not with contempt.

But ſince the poſſeſſion of property by the Catholics is to work the ſubverſion of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, let us calmly conſider what influence that powerful engine has over mankind—Firſt we muſt ſuppoſe complete Catholic emancipation to take place—Let us then trace the progreſs of the Catholics to wealth, and the effects it will produce upon them—As no man or body of men can ſucceed in induſtrious purſuits, and be tempted to undertake them if his country is diſturbed, it is manifeſt, that, the Catholics, in their progreſs to the acquiſition of property, will be intereſted in ſecuring general peace and tranquillity. They can only do ſo by a ſtrict obſervance of the laws of their country, and a ſteady loyal zeal in ſupporting the conſtitution of government under which they live. They will feel and know that by revolutions and rebellions, "the progreſs of induſtry is effectually "impeded." (page 54) They will therefore be fettered faſt to loyalty, in proportion as they have inclinations to be induſtrious, and zeal to be opulent and powerful. The firſt conſequence therefore of emancipation, will be (taking it for granted

granted that the Catholics will ſeek for power to their utmoſt abilities) an unremitting exertion on their part to maintain national tranquillity, and encreaſe the national wealth and power.

Let us now ſuppoſe that, after a long ſeries of years of continued induſtry and loyalty, the Catholics (at preſent ſo very poor) are poſſeſſed of a conſiderable portion, even the greateſt portion of the wealth of the kingdom. In the firſt place, as they can only have procured it by long habits of peace and good conduct, it is probable that thoſe habits will have become ſo fixed that nothing will eaſily remove them—But the moſt material circumſtances to be attended to, on their part of the ſubject is the immediate impreſſions and inclinations which conſiderable property will give riſe to in the breaſt of every Catholic who has obtained it.

Will not his firſt purſuit in life be to ſecure it? though the learned Doctor may aſſert that "he is "bound to reſiſt the laws," by the principles of the decree of the council of Lateran, and of his religion, (page 31) can we heſitate in determining that of the alternative of reſiſtance to the laws and obediance to them, of treaſon and loyalty he will

prefer

prefer the latter—His property muſt be either landed or perſonal. If perſonal the profits he derives from it, muſt be from placing it in the funds or putting it out to intereſt. Would he ſubvert the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment which upholds the funds, or would he exterminate the Proteſtant who has borrowed his money, if *Doctor Huſſey* was to quote to him the decree of the council of Lateran?—If he poſſeſſes landed property—muſt not he be intruſted in maintaining that external peace and due ſubordination, which will enable his tenants to produce the largeſt crops and the greateſt prices, that he may receive ample rent?—will he not exert himſelf to prevent robberies and murders, inſurrections and rebellions, notwithſtanding his neighbour is a heretick? Will he not execute the duties of a magiſtrate or member of Parliament or officer of ſtate, in ſuch a manner, as will beſt ſecure to him the title of his property and the profits ariſing from it.

But it may be even admitted that the Catholics would ſpeedily acquire property and power, and would uſe that power for the purpoſe of ſubverting the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, and ſtill, even by the Doctor's own words there would be no great danger

ger to be apprehended; by no means ſo great as there is under the preſent ſtate of Catholics.

Allowing the doctrine and ſpirit of extermination to exiſt among the Catholics after emancipation. Allowing even a majority of them in the Houſe of Commons—As majority in the Houſe of Lords is not to be expected as a thing of courſe. It can never happen without a Catholic Monarch ſits upon the throne, which is an event not very probable.

It muſt be obſerved that the learned Doctor in ſpeaking of the late rebellion, takes great pains to prove the very great power of the Proteſtants in compariſon with the Catholics—That he inſinuates that they are equal to any rebellion, and every attempt of the Catholics to deſtroy them—But when he ſpeaks of the admiſſion of the Catholics to a part of the Legiſlature, and wiſhes to frighten the Proteſtants from acquieſcing in it—he changes his tone—never mentions a ſyllable of the one million of rich Proteſtants, the militia, and yeomanry. The power of the Catholics at once becomes immenſe. In one page it encreaſes from almoſt nothing, to ſuch a height that it is immediately able to controul King, Lords and Commons, and ſubvert

vert the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment. The one million of rich Proteſtants, the militia and yeomanry.

The magic of emancipation will at once diſable the Proteſtants who have for two centuries ſucceſsfully reſiſted the Catholics, from taking any future active ſtep for their own preſervation. This wonderful magic will annihilate all Proteſtant loyalty and courage, and make Great Britain perfectly careleſs whether Ireland is governed by a Catholic Republic dependant on France, or by a Catholic and Proteſtant Parliament, fairly repreſenting the nation, and preſerving it connected with Great Britain by *ſuch* an Union as will maintain freedom and happineſs throughout the empire.

FINIS.

14

THE SPEECH OF *LORD MINTO*, IN THE HOUSE OF PEERS, APRIL 11, 1799, ON A *MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS TO HIS MAJESTY*, TO COMMUNICATE THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, RESPECTING *AN UNION* BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

DUBLIN:
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1799.

THE

SPEECH,

&c. &c.

MY LORDS,

IN yielding to the deſire, which it is natural for every publick man to feel, of delivering his ſentiments on this great queſtion, it could not be my intention, at any period of the diſcuſſion, to exhauſt, or even to touch on all the many and various points of this comprehenſive ſubject; and I muſt be yet leſs diſpoſed to ſuch an attempt in circumſtances ſo little favourable as the preſent, I mean, after the talents, the learning and the eloquence of two countries have preceded me, and have, indeed, left little for ſuch as me to glean, even in this vaſt and fertile field.

I ſhall, therefore, confine myſelf within bounds better ſuited to my own capacity, as well as to the meaſure of indulgence which I can have any pretenſions to expect from your Lordſhips; and ſhall content myſelf with ſtating as clearly, but as ſhortly as I am able, a few thoughts on the principal and leading topicks of this argument, eſpecially ſuch as have made the ſtrongeſt impreſſion on my own judgment, and have had the greateſt ſhare in determining the opinion I profeſs in favour of the propoſed meaſure.

In deliberating on this queſtion, the firſt propoſition which ſeems to impreſs itſelf on every mind, is the convenience, amounting indeed to a neceſſity, not merely for the advantage and benefit, but for the preſervation and ſecurity of both countries, that there ſhould ſubſiſt between Great Britain and Ireland, a cloſe and intimate connexion of one deſcription or other. The moſt diſadvantageous ſituation in which either country can be placed, is that of total diſconnexion. Indeed when I ſay diſadvantageous, I certainly ſpeak too feebly. I mean that this condition would expoſe both countries to the greateſt quantity and variety of evil, and oppoſe the moſt in-

ſurmount-

ſurmountable barriers to national improvement and proſperity of any that can be imagined. Fundamental as this propoſition will be found in the argument, it is nevertheleſs one on which it is unneceſſary to dwell long. I find it, in the firſt place, conceded on all hands, and I think myſelf entitled to claim on this point a general or rather univerſal aſſent. For I preſume it will hardly be required of me, that I ſhould condeſcend to treat as an exception, worthy of notice, the opinions of thoſe who call themſelves United Iriſhmen, or of thoſe other wretched men, whom the vigilance of Government and of Parliament, has lately expoſed to the ſcorn and execration of a country which they diſgrace, under the title of United Engliſhmen. Theſe men may call themſelves by what names they pleaſe, United Iriſh, or United Engliſh. In my language they can be known only by the appellation of French Iriſh, French Engliſh. They are merely partizans of the ancient and inveterate enemy of their country. They are wedded to the intereſts of that enemy, and enliſted under his ſtandard. They are confederates in every deſperate and wicked project of a foreign ſtate, for the ſubjugation and ruin of their native land, and their opinions are entitled

preciſely to the ſame degree of deference, that we ſhould pay to the ſentiments or wiſhes of the French Directory itſelf, on a queſtion of Britiſh intereſt. I am, indeed, ſorry to learn, that theſe extremes either of deluſion or corruption, ſhould exiſt in a ſingle inſtance within the limits of this iſland: but ſince ſuch men are, I cannot but obſerve with ſatisfaction their hoſtility to every ſpecies of connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, and moſt of all to that beſt and moſt perfect connexion which is now in contemplation. For when I learn from France, and her worthy Iriſh and Engliſh aſſociates, that the preſent Union between England and Scotland ſtands in the way of their fraternal views towards Great Britain, and that the union with Ireland is a death's blow to their hopes of annihilating the Britiſh empire, I cannot but accept this teſtimony of the enemy, as the ſtrongeſt and beſt confirmation of the favour which I profeſs, towards the meaſure which they oppoſe. But I ſhall not be expected to argue with this kind of adverſary. We are engaged with them in a different ſort of controverſy, and it is the *ultima ratio* alone that can ſettle the debate between us. With this exception, however, the neceſſity of connexion is not only admitted,

ted, but warmly aſſerted by all thoſe who have taken a part in the debate on this queſtion of Union, whether their judgments have been favourable or adverſe to the meaſure; and your Lordſhips know that there is no deſcription of perſons who have been more earneſt to diſclaim and abjure the character of what is called ſeparatiſt, than thoſe who have oppoſed the Union in Ireland, or in this country.

But if it were not admitted, this propoſition is too obvious to require much argument to prove it. A glance on the map, and a moment's reflection will ſatisfy us, that the affairs and intereſts of theſe two ſiſter iſlands are too much the ſame, in too many points of domeſtic and foreign concern, not to aſſociate them neceſſarily in the dangers and buſineſs of war, and in the occupations and purſuits of peace. Let us ſuppoſe any one brought from another hemiſphere, totally unacquainted, not only with the hiſtory and concerns, but even with the ſhape and form of this quarter of the globe, before whom a map of Europe ſhould be laid for the firſt time; and let ſuch a man be required to conjecture the diſtribution of the

the different countries under his eye, into their reſpective ſtates and governments. Whatever his opinion might be concerning other portions of Europe, I am perſuaded we ſhould all anticipate his confident judgment, that the Britiſh Iſles, at leaſt, formed one ſtate. Let us, in effect, caſt our own eye for an inſtant on this map—we ſhall ſee theſe two iſlands not merely contiguous, but lying as it were in the very boſom and embraces of each other—we ſhall obſerve, not only their mutual vicinity, but their inſulation, and their inſulation together, from the reſt of Europe; we ſhall ſee their relative poſition with regard to each other and to every other part of the world, and eſpecially their reciprocal dependence, for a ſecure and undiſturbed navigation, in a great part of the circumference of both. Theſe and a thouſand other obvious particulars, which I do not enumerate merely to avoid abuſing your indulgence with conſiderations familiar to us all, muſt convince us, that in a ſtate of total political ſeparation, there could hardly be a ſingle tranſaction, or an inſtant of their exiſtence, in which theſe two countries would not be rivals, and if rivals, enemies. It is eaſy to conceive the enhanced and aggravated ſtate of warfare waged

waged in this manner between countries poſſeſſing each, in a greater degree, the means of offence, and in a leſs degree, thoſe of defence, than in any other poſſible ſituation. We ſhall alſo recollect, that if one of theſe countries ſhould be engaged in war with a third, as Great Britain with France, the other would preſent advantages to the enemy which it could not otherwiſe poſſeſs; and it will not be difficult to foreſee, that in a ſtate of ſeparation, the mutual jealouſy and habitual animoſity likely to prevail between the neighbours, aided by the intrigues and importunity of the enemy, will in all probability draw the neutral iſland into a direct or indirect participation in theſe hoſtilities. Thus will theſe two countries, inſtead of contributing to each other's comfort, ſecurity and greatneſs, as they might do under a wiſer and happier ſyſtem, only harraſs, enfeeble, and endanger each other, juſt in proportion to their reſpective means and reſources, exhauſting their mutual attention and energy, rather in watching and repreſſing each other, than in repelling common danger, promoting common intereſts, or exalting their common greatneſs and glory. Such a condition, in a word, diſturbs the tran-

quillity of peace, and ſhortens its duration, while it multiplies a thouſand fold, the perils and evils of war. It is manifeſt that the ſmaller and weaker country of the two, muſt experience theſe diſadvantages yet more ſenſibly than its powerful neighbour. In its differences with the other, if the aid and alliance of a third power be ſought, that ſervice muſt be purchaſed by ſome conſideration or other; and we are taught, by reaſon as well as hiſtory the ſort of price that is paid by an inferior, for the proud and politic protection of a powerful ſtate. As the comparatively feeble and poor cannot diſcharge ſuch a debt in poſitive force and wealth, it muſt give what it has, and pay its quota in general ſubſerviency, that is to ſay, in a baſe and habitual dependence, little ſhort, either in degradation or ruin, of poſitive ſubjection. It appears, in fine, to me, that a ſmaller country, ſituated between two great rivals, as Ireland is, can hardly hope for an interval of tranquillity, ſecurity or dignity. Dignity may at once be put out of the queſtion, for having no real and poſitive force to ſupport it, ſuch a country muſt live, from day to day, by intrigue, the moſt degrading ſpecies of policy, and that which it ſeems the moſt impoſſible

poſſible to reconcile with any ſenſe of national pride or honour. It can as little look for tranquillity or ſecurity; for beſides its own quarrels, the cauſes of which are infinitely multiplied, in a ſeparate ſtate, by that very vicinity which might, otherwiſe, extinguiſh them; beſides, I ſay, its own quarrels, it will be dragged perpetually into thoſe of both its neighbours, and will indeed generally find itſelf the bone of contention, to be worried by both, and to endure therefore that double ſcourge, that complicated deſolation and ruin, which fall on thoſe unhappy countries that are themſelves the theatre of wars, in which, perhaps, they have no intereſt, or none other than that of being themſelves the prize to be fought for and deſtined to reward the conqueror, or purchaſe the peace of the vanquiſhed. We ſhall perceive, on the other hand, with the ſame facility and with greater ſatisfaction, the inducements and advantages of connexion, by which the reſources of the one, inſtead of being to be ſubſtracted from thoſe of the other, flow rather into a general ſtock, out of which, as from a common heart, ſtrength and proſperity may circulate to the remoteſt extremities of both, and the right arm of the empire be nouriſhed

and fortified, without impoverishing or withering the left. But I will not insist on this conceded point, and shall assume it as a thing proved for granted, that connexion is necessary for the mutual security and happiness of Great Britain and Ireland.

The question then arises, on the best and most eligible mode, or form of that connexion.

On this point also I have a settled opinion, which I consider as a main and principal hinge of this argument. I wish, indeed, to state and to argue it, in the first instance, as a general proposition, but if it be proved, and made out satisfactorily in that form, it seems decisive on that particular question, and will establish, on principle and reason, the same conclusion, to which our judgment may have been led on more practical grounds. The proposition then is this, that when two countries are so circumstanced as mutually to require connexion, the only mode of connexion which can perfectly remove the evils of separation, and fully confer the benefit of union, is a perfect identity and incorporation of their governments. All other relations of a more partial

and

and imperfect nature, are ſubject to many inconveniences while they ſubſiſt, and are beſides of limited duration. By limited, I do not mean merely precarious. I conſider their expiration not merely as poſſible or probable, but as certain; and beſides the perpetual and reſtleſs ſtruggles, which are for ever vexing theſe contentious relations while they laſt, they appear to me to poſſeſs this fundamental and characteriſtic vice; I mean that of tending gradually, and though perhaps not always rapidly, yet certainly and inevitably, by the very law of their conſtitution and nature, to a total extinction and diſſolution. Nations, then, connected in this manner, will neceſſarily arrive, at one period or other, at the alternative of ſeparation, towards which they naturally tend, involving, probably, mutual and perpetual hoſtility, or that perfect incorporation and unity, which is productive not only of all the bleſſings of internal tranquillity, but of all the advantages, both in ſtrength and proſperity, which flow from the union of their joint reſources, and which are encreaſed, by combination, far beyond the ſimple addition to their amount.

That ſuch are the properties and defects of theſe

theſe imperfect connexions, we ſhall eaſily ſatisfy ourſelves, by a very ſhort and curſory view of one or two of the principal relations of that deſcription, and I ſhall begin with that which I conceive to ſtand firſt, alſo, in chronological order—I mean conqueſt. For I believe it will generally be found, when two countries are ſituated in ſuch a manner as to invite, by their local poſitions, a connexion between their governments, the ſtronger of the two, or that which is firſt enabled by an earlier civilization, and ſuperior population, to aim at foreign enterpriſe, will attempt the conqueſt of the other, and if the attempt ſucceeds, that mode of relation is eſtabliſhed between them, which I am now treating of. Conqueſt may, indeed, in one ſenſe, be underſtood to expreſs only the means employed for uniting them under one government, or bringing them together, and in that acceptation, conqueſt may, no doubt, lead to any mode of connexion, and, amongſt the reſt, may tend at once to that which is the moſt perfect and the beſt. Of this, indeed, hiſtory will furniſh examples, though, I believe, not frequent; for war is but a rough courtſhip, and violence cannot be expected, in all caſes, to procure ſo happy an union as that which, at once, incorporated the Roman and the Sabine

people.

people. At preſent, however, I uſe the word conqueſt to expreſs, not the means or inſtrument of union, but the relation which is the conſequence of victory, and which ſubſiſts after it. In other words, I mean that dominion which is exerciſed by the conqueror on the title of conqueſt, while the countries continue diſtinct; or that ſovereignty, which being founded by the ſword, is meaſured by the power of enforcing it, on one hand, and the inability to reſiſt, on the other. In comparing, as we are now doing, the advantages and diſadvantages of the different kinds of connexion between nations, we may, no doubt, diſmiſs at once from the argument the conſideration of conqueſt; for I preſume we ſhall agree that this is the worſt of all. It is, indeed, the moſt wretched condition of human ſlavery. The relation of maſter and ſervant, or even of maſter and ſlave, amongſt individuals, or of ſovereign and ſubject amongſt the members of one commonwealth, even under the moſt deſpotick forms of government, may be conceived to produce, at leaſt in ſome inſtances, or in ſome degree, a mutual benefit and convenience. But it is not ſo amongſt nations. A maſter nation will, I think, generally be found a tyrant, and a ſubject nation is generally a ſlave. The ſubmiſſion

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and obedience of the one does not purchaſe protection or kindneſs, and the authority of the other yields little profit. The dominion of mere conqueſt, in a word, confers on the ſovereign but a barren ſceptre and a crown of thorns; and very fit it ſhould be ſo. Yet under all theſe diſcouragements it will generally be found, that a ſtrong ſenſe of the evils attending ſeparation, ſtimulated perhaps by that paſſion, I mean ambition, which ſeems to actuate all governments, or thoſe who adminiſter them, will induce the ſtronger power to ſeek connexion by that courſe, unleſs precluded by the eſtabliſhment of ſome better or leſs objectionable mode of relation.

Amongſt theſe I ſhall next ſpeak of federal connexion, and I am the more inclined to ſay a few words on that ſubject, as I have underſtood that, in the variety of opinions entertained on this queſtion of Union with Ireland, ſome have been ſuppoſed to lean towards a connexion of that nature. I confeſs, however, that I can find nothing in that mode of relation to recommend it; and every thing we know of ſuch confederacies ſeems to prove them, in the firſt place, inadequate to the purpoſes of union,

union, and, in the next place, of very precarious duration. The fundamental vice of theſe federal conſtitutions ſeems to be, that profeſſing to provide only for ſome common intereſts, they not only leave, but it is, in ſome ſort, their ſpirit to eſtabliſh, a diſtinctneſs, and even an oppoſition of intereſts on all or many other points. Speaking of national intereſts, I believe it will be ſafe to conſider diſtinctneſs as in general but a convertible term for oppoſition; and the different parts of a federal union are, I think, generally to be accounted rivals in reſpect of all in which they are diſtinct. Their oppoſition is indeed not limited even by that principle, but extends often to the very *caſus fœderis*; I mean to thoſe concerns which are common, and the general intereſt in which is meant to be provided for by the conditions and obligations of the union. It muſt be obſerved by every one who reads the hiſtory of ſuch governments, that in the interpretation and performance of their federal engagements, the parties generally act in a ſpirit of rival and adverſe contention. The paſſions of the multitude ſeem to flow naturally in that courſe; and the narrow genius of thoſe why will often have the lead in

the diſcordant counſels of ſuch ſtates, ſeems prone enough to fall in with this popular humour. We ſhall frequently obſerve them more occupied in the internal jealouſies and competitions of the confederate ſtates, than in promoting the common cauſe; and eſpecially in moments of common danger and exertion, they will often diſcover a greater apprehenſion of contributing a grain too much in the federal ſcale, than a grain too little for the ſucceſs of that object, which is the only rational motive for exertion at all. They are, in a word, more afraid of giving ſome paltry advantage to a friend and aſſociate, than ſolicitous to defeat the common enemy, or to provide for common ſafety. Irrational as this conduct is, I may appeal to obſervation and hiſtory for the exiſtence as well as for the fatal effects of this mania, both in federal governments, and in the looſer and yet more temporary and occaſional confederacies of mere allies. We have ourſelves lived in a very eventful period, and have had but too large an experience in revolutions of every ſort. We have, amongſt others, witneſſed the recent downfal of a great federal government; I mean the United Provinces: and I certainly agree with what I underſtood to be

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the ſentiment of a noble Lord who opened this diſcuſſion on a former day, in thinking that the ſudden and rapid overthrow of that government, and the degrading ruin and ſlavery into which that celebrated people has been plunged almoſt without a ſtruggle, may be traced to the very vice and defect in the conſtitution of ſuch governments which I have juſt deſcribed. It is ſurely reaſonable to doubt, whether a more prompt and combined application of the reſources which that country poſſeſſed, than, it ſeems, the diſtinctneſs and contrariety of its parts admitted of, might not have averted, at leaſt the eaſy and inglorious conqueſt of a country, whoſe accidental and temporary union under the extraordinary talents of the great Prince of Orange, was able firſt to defy, and then to humble and defeat France, in the plenitude of Louis the Fourteenth's power and greatneſs. I ſhall probably not differ with many of your Lordſhips in aſcribing, at leaſt in part, to the ſame cauſe, the ſudden calamities which have overwhelmed another brave and reſpectable people, I mean the Swiſs cantons, with a rapidity and eaſe, which can be accounted for only on that principle. And I cannot ſuppreſs ſome apprehenſion that we may yet have to lament, even in our own day,

the diſſolution of the grandeſt confederacy which the world ever knew, the integrity of which has already been too much broken not to excite anxiety and alarm for the iſſue, and on the ſtability of which, however, not only reſts the ſafety and happineſs of thoſe extenſive territories, and of the many nations which have hitherto found ſecurity and ſhelter under that great union, but I may ſay, perhaps, on which the independence and liberty of the whole of Europe, and a great proportion of the other three quarters of the globe, may eſſentially and eventually depend. I ſpeak, my Lords, of the Germanic body itſelf. But I will dwell no longer on theſe unpleaſant topics, not immediately applicable to the queſtion of the day, and haſten to the conſideration of that ſpecies of relation which is the proper ſubject of your preſent deliberation; I mean that which now ſubſiſts between Great Britain and Ireland, and which did ſubſiſt between England and Scotland before the Union.

I am to ſpeak now of thoſe connexions which conſiſt in ſome circumſtance of identity, in the municipal conſtitutions of the two countries; that is to ſay, in having ſome part

part or member of their governments the ſame, with a diſtinctneſs and ſeparate independence in all the reſt. Such is that of one King or Executive Power, with ſeparate legiſlatures; and of this particular form of connexion we have undoubtedly had moſt experience in this empire, and can therefore ſpeak of it with the beſt information and knowledge. I might, no doubt, ſafely appeal, at once, to that very experience, for the inſufficiency of ſuch a bond, to avoid the evils of diſtinct exiſtence, or to confer, in peace or war, the full benefits of connexion. But I wiſh, firſt, to ſay a few words to what may be conſidered as the principle; that is to ſay, to enquire what are the circumſtances from which the evils of theſe partial relations may be thought to flow; and above all, what is the true cauſe of that natural and conſtant tendency in ſuch governments, to weaken and diminiſh the bonds of connexion, till it becomes little more than nominal, and remains, perhaps, only perceptible in the ſtruggles and convulſions of its diſſolution.

The firſt defect, then, which I remark in this mode of imperfect connexion, is ſimilar, or perhaps I may ſay, preciſely the ſame, with that which

which I have already obſerved upon, in relations merely federal. I mean that the connexion being but partial, and intended for partial purpoſes, the great maſs of intereſts in each nation continue diſtinct; the attention of each country is ſtill pointed towards a ſeparate view of individual intereſt; and the public mind, if I may ſo expreſs it, of the two nations, is kept diſtinct. I have already obſerved that diſtinct intereſts are generally oppoſite intereſts, or felt to be ſo by the two parties; and ſpeaking of nations, I may add, that diſtinct minds are generally hoſtile. In theſe circumſtances, the vicinity, and the connexion of ſuch countries, inſtead of improving, as they might otherwiſe do, friendſhip and harmony between them, ſeem to produce the very oppoſite effects, and to cultivate a jealous and angry temper, prone to take offence and umbrage, and ripening every trivial diſcontent or difference into grounds of permanent alienation and even hoſtility.

Another grand ſource of indiſpoſition between ſuch countries, and that from which every one of the evils attending this mode of relation ſeems to me moſt immediately to derive, is the inequality in their relative power and influence, occaſioned, no doubt, by their

inequality

inequality in real and poſitive power and influence. It follows neceſſarily from the very nature and conſtitution of human affairs, and no artificial or conventional arrangement, no proviſions of poſitive inſtitution can alter it, that in the union of two diſtinct and unequal countries, the ſuperior muſt be predominant, and the inferior ſubordinate in their common concerns, and in the adminiſtration of the common parts of their Government. Hence follows, however, a nominal independence in the inferior ſtate, accompanied by a daily and irkſome conſciouſneſs of real dependence and ſubordination. It is this contradiction between the real and nominal condition of the inferior country that I conſider as the moſt fruitful ſource of thoſe evils which afflict ſuch connexions, and ultimately extinguiſh them. In Governments adminiſtered in this manner, under external influence, the eyes of the nation paſs over the immediate and domeſtic inſtruments of their adminiſtration, to that which muſt appear to them, and may indeed be truly accounted its efficient head, I mean the external power which directs it's counſels. It is therefore natural that the grievances, real or imaginary of ſuch a country,

try, ſhould be laid to the account of that higher cauſe; that it's diſcontents, chagrins, and reſentments ſhould be directed againſt that object; and that the exertions of patriotiſm, or the ſtruggles of faction, as the caſe may be, the clamour and the activity, the eloquence and even the virtues of popular leaders and ambitious men, ſhould all aim at that obvious mark. They will find in the people a diſpoſition, founded alſo in nature, extremely favourable to the ſucceſs of ſuch aims. I have ſaid that the minds of two countries thus circumſtanced are not only diſtinct, but hoſtile. Jealouſy is the ſentiment likely to prevail between them; and indeed where both being nominally, and according to their abſtract rights, independent and equal, one of the two exerciſes, nevertheleſs, a clear and undiſguiſed aſcendency over the other, jealouſy may, in truth, be thought to have no very unreaſonable foundation, The prevailing national ſentiment, the ruling paſſion, then, of the inferior country, comes to be an angry, impatient and intolerant love of their independency. Whoever touches that ſtring, reaches their heart, and commands their affections and actions. Hence we ſhall obſerve a

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reſtleſs and never ſatisfied ſtruggling with every circumſtance either in the conſtitution of their government, or in the counſels and meaſures of their adminiſtration, which ſeems, even to the moſt ſubtle refinements of jealouſy, to affect that object; hence a perpetual ſtraining after its improvement and perfection; and hence alſo thoſe imprudent, and, ſurely, ungenerous advantages which are ſought, in periods of common diſtreſs or danger, to extort conceſſions favourable to that object; conceſſions which do not excite gratitude in thoſe who receive them, becauſe they are claimed as rights and ſeem to have been enforced by neceſſity; conceſſions too which ſeem rather to whet than to ſatiſfy the appetite that calls for them. Each victory of this kind becomes only a vantage ground from whence another may be ſought for; and thus each ſucceſſion of patriots, or of demagogues, ſeeking to enhance on the exploits of their predeceſſors, the improvement of indepedency is puſhed forward until the true goal of that courſe comes in view —I mean ſeparation.

That ſeparation is in truth the goal or winning poſt of this race of independency, muſt appear very clearly when we conſider what

the fundamental cauſe of the ſubordination complained of is, and what therefore muſt be the means of reducing it. The aſcendancy of the ſuperior country conſiſts, no doubt, in it's ſuperior power, but it is the conſtitutional connexion that furniſhes the channel or organ, through which the power of the ſuperior ſtate is brought home to the inferior country. If they have the ſame executive power, the influence of the ſuperior ſtate operates through that channel on every branch and department of publick affairs. If their legiſlatures, diſtinct in other reſpects, have one branch or member in common, the legiſlation of the inferior is bent to uniformity with the other by that power. Connexion then is the means of aſcendancy in one, and the cauſe of ſubordination in the other, and it is manifeſt that theſe grievances can be alleviated, or redreſſed, only by diminiſhing or aboliſhing the cauſe. That is to ſay, in other words, that independency can be improved only by ſtriking off, link after link, of the connexion, and it's entire perfection can be attained only by breaking the laſt thread which holds the countries together.

From this account of the matter it appears unavoidable that the courſe I have deſcribed ſhould

ſhould be purſued in every ſimilar caſe, and that theſe events are not to be conſidered as fortuitous, but as deriving from uniform and pregnant cauſes likely to produce the ſame conſequences wherever they exiſt. We are taught, then, not leſs by reaſon, than, as we ſhall ſoon find, by experience, to expect that the natural and commendable love of independence on one hand, and the incompatibility of that independence with connexion on the other, ſhould always lead two countries thus circumſtanced to the laſt alternative, which I have already more than once alluded to, of ſeparation or union; an alternative in which I am perſuaded that true wiſdom, and a ſincere and genuine love of our country, will always make one choice, while paſſion and prejudice, eſpecially private paſſion or prejudice, and while a blind and ſophiſticated pride, perſonating, or rather counterfeiting patriotiſm, may poſſibly prompt another.

If I have not been deceived by this reaſoning, one might almoſt venture, without much temerity, to trace, as the pretty certain and uniform ſucceſſion and progreſs of events, in the hiſtory of connexion between two neighbouring countries of unequal power, the

courſe I have juſt deſcribed. Their connexion will probably begin in conqueſt—that miſerable condition will gradually ſoften itſelf into ſome mode of dependent connexion. This will ſtill be refined into the more flattering condition of nominal independence, accompanied, however, by a real and inherent ſubordination;--under which the uneaſineſs of the ſubordinate country, and its growing pretenſions and power, will advance in the progreſs towards real independence, till it approaches ſo cloſely the danger of ſeperation, that both countries will be alarmed, and take ſhelter from the impending calamity, in the only ſanctuary that remains, I mean Union. I will not ſay that every ſtep in this progreſs will be the ſame in all caſes. The events, ſuch of them as happen, will probably ſucceed each other in the ſame order; but a link or two more may be found in ſome inſtances, and a link or two may be omitted in others. I think myſelf, however, ſupported not only by ſuch reaſoning as I have ventured to lay before you, but by the uniform teſtimony of hiſtory, at leaſt in this obſervation; I mean that a partial connexion of Government, between two unequal countries, is not a permanent condi-

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tion in which they can ſettle, and is incapable of ſubſiſting long without change; that it is not a ſtationary point, but merely tranſitory and progreſſive, and is but a ſtage or reſting place, if that which I have deſcribed as conſtantly progreſſive can obtain the name of reſt at all, between the original ſtate of total diſconnexion, from which they ſtarted, and either a return to that total ſeparation again, or that which I conſider as the more probable term of its Progreſs, even on the firſt approach of that evil, but is ultimately certain, I mean perfect and entire conſolidation and union.

I profeſs myſelf ſo ſtrongly impreſſed with this view, I will not ſay of the philoſophical principal, but of hiſtory and experience applicable to the ſubject we are conſidering, that I cannot help looking to the union of Great Britain and Ireland, not merely as an advantageous and deſirable event, and on that account likely to bring itſelf about, but as certain and unavoidable, although I ſhall take care not to commit my philoſophy too raſhly, by aſſigning any particular period, whether long or ſhort, for the accompliſhment of its predictions. I aſſert only that we are travelling that road. Theſe two countries are viſibly approaching each

each other by an irreſiſtible attraction, by a ſpecies of gravitation which I conſider as an invincible law of political nature, if nature can have ſuch an epithet; and that cloſing, as it were, by the compulſion of this power, no human obſtruction, no counterpoiſe that can be oppoſed to it, will long avail to keep them aſunder, though it may retard their meeting for a while, I am not leſs perſuaded that when once they are in contact, another principal, equally inherent in that new condition, I mean a principle of inſeparable adheſion and tenacity, will hold them together, and will ſo cement and conſolidate their union, as to render all human efforts to ſeperate and tear them again aſunder, vain and ineffectual. If theſe opinions then have any foundation, we may debate here concerning the beſt means of accelerating this happy and much to be deſired event, but we may conſider the event itſelf as perdeſtined; and I cannot help perſuading myſelf that the ſpecies of deſtiny, of which I am here ſpeaking, I mean the ſteady operation of fixed principles, will work out its own decrees, be the proceſs longer or ſhorter; and neither that erroneous pride, which is ſuppoſed to pervade Ireland in general, nor the love of political monopoly, which may actuate particular claſſes

claſſes, or individuals of that country; nor the arts, the ſeductions, or the arms of the French Republick, can be long interpoſed between the cauſe and its effect, or diſturb for ever the appointed order of human events, by conſtraining Great Britain and Ireland to endure the afflictions and calamities of ſeperation, or of a condition almoſt equivalent to it, while they contemplate all the bleſſings of Union placed within their reach, and courting their acceptance.

With this view of the neceſſity and inevitable nature of this event, the opinion I entertain of its utility is at leaſt conſoling to my own mind. Yet I ſhould neither have hazarded ſuch ſpeculations, nor have preſumed to detain your Lordſhips, eſpecially ſo long, with this ſort of reaſoning, if I had thought it no better than idle and viſionary theory. But, in truth, I was conſcious that it was hiſtory rather than ſpeculation that I was delivering throughout, and I will venture to ſay there is hardly a point or turn in this ſpeculative courſe, which you will not find verified, chapter for chapter, by the hiſtory of every connexion we have hitherto known with the nations which now compoſe our empire.

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your Lordſhips will think me diſpoſed to carry you far back, when I venture even to name the Saxon heptarchy, and the union of thoſe ſeven independent kingdoms in the reign of Egbert. Yet if I do little more than allude to that ſignal event, it is not becauſe I am wanting, or that I can think your Lordſhips ſo, in a due ſenſe of its importance and dignity, or of its influence on the ſubſequent deſtinies either of England or of the world. It is enough to ſay that the union of the heptarchy was the birth day of nothing leſs than this very kingdom of England, and that the glorious empire which now extends from eaſt to weſt, and has planted the dominion and the language of England around the globe, is the lineal deſcendant, or rather only the natural growth and developement of that event. It is not my intention, however, to dwell on this antient and parent union, for the purpoſe of illuſtrating the principles of which I have juſt treated. I am ſenſible that this period is too remote from our own, to build any ſolid concluſion on tranſactions, with the details and particulars of which we are ſo little acquainted. I therefore mention it only that I may be entitled to read a ſhort paſſage from Mr. Hume's hiſtory of

that period, which, I think, may furniſh a reflection or two not impertinent to the preſent queſtion.

" The kingdoms of the heptarchy, though " united by ſo recent a conqueſt, ſeemed to be " ſo ſtrongly cemented into one ſtate under " Egbert; and the inhabitants of the ſeveral " provinces had loſt all deſire of revolting from " that conqueror, or of reſtoring their indepen- " dent Governments. Their language was every " where nearly the ſame; their cuſtoms, laws, " inſtitutions, civil and religious; and as the " race of their antient Kings was totally ex- " tinct in all their ſubjected ſtates, the people " readily transferred their allegiance to a Prince " who ſeemed to merit it, by the ſplendour of " his victories, the vigour of his adminiſtra- " tion, and the ſuperior nobility of his birth. " An union alſo in government opened to " them the agreeable proſpect of future tran- " quillity; and it appeared more probable, " that they would thenceforth become terri- " ble to their neighbours, than be expoſed to " their inroads and devaſtations." We collect from this paſſage, not merely as an opinion of Mr. Hume's, but as an hiſtorical fact,

that the local attachment and national feeling which the inhabitants of the ſeveral independent kingdoms before their union entertained, no doubt, towards their reſpective countries, were eaſily and quickly extended to the whole united kingdom. This change did not even wait for a new generation, but was operated in the very life of the conqueror, and therefore of thoſe who were themſelves habituated to the narrower feeling, and who had experienced in their own perſons the humiliation and reſentment belonging to defeat. For it is alſo remarkable that the harmonizing property of union was manifeſted in circumſtances the moſt adverſe of any to conciliation, I mean in the caſe of an union brought about by force, and attended with all the irritation of compulſion and conqueſt. We muſt obſerve, in the next place, that Mr. Hume conſiders a ſimilarity of language, cuſtoms, laws, and inſtitutions, civil and religious, as circumſtances, favourable, not only to the eſtabliſhment of union, but to the improvement and promotion of its beneficial conſequences. And laſtly, we have the authority of this profound and philoſophical hiſtorian for thinking that ſuch an union was likely not

only

only to yield the comforts of internal tranquillity and peace, but ſo to improve the power and reſources of the kingdom, as, inſtead of trembling at the approach of every invader, to render it rather itſelf an object of terror, or at leaſt, of reſpect to ſurrounding nations. It is true that the Daniſh invaſions followed immediately on this event, and we know that the repeated and powerful deſcents of that warlike nation, not only harraſſed and alarmed this iſland upwards of a century, but at ſome periods reduced the Saxon power to the greateſt poſſible ſtreights. But in the firſt place, the Daniſh invaſions were not the conſequence of the union of the Heptarchy, and muſt have happened without it. And in the next place, it is impoſſible to read the hiſtory of that period without perceiving, in every page a demonſtration of the ſalutary effects of that meaſure, and without aſcribing to the union under Egbert, alone, the ultimate preſervation of that kingdom. If the Danes had found the iſland in the ſame feeble and divided ſtate, in which the Saxons had themſelves atchieved the conqueſt of the Britons; if they had had to contend only with the disjointed, diſunited, and ſingle exertions of the ſeven inſignificant

States of the Heptarchy each in its turn, and if thoſe Princes who fought for England had not been enabled by the union to oppoſe to this powerful and perſevering enemy a combined and concerted defence, it is manifeſt that neither the valour and talents of Egbert, nor the almoſt romantick endowments and virtues of Alfred theGreat, would have availed to prevent a conqueſt as complete, and an extirpation of the Saxon power and name out of England, as perfect and dreadful as that which they had themſelves inflicted on the defenceleſs and divided Britons. But to paſs forward to times ſomewhat nearer our own, I would now ſpeak of Wales.

Wales had reſiſted the power of all the Saxon Kings, and the firſt Princes of the Norman line. It was not till the reign of Henry the Third, and then rather by the effect of internal diſſention, than by the arms or enterprize of that Prince, that Wales was brought under a ſort of feudal dependance on theCrown of England, and acknowledged the Sovereign of the latter country as a feudal ſuperior. Wales was held, then, during that reign meerly as a fief, with the uſual acknowledgments,

ments, and under the uſual conditions belonging to the feudal relation of ſeignory and vaſſalage, but without any claim on the part of England to political ſovereignty. This ſlender relation ſeems, however, to have improved itſelf very rapidly into a connexion of a different and much more intimate nature, for in the very next reign, Edward the Firſt, the immediate ſucceſſer of Henry the Third, was able to convert that feudal ſeigneury into direct and poſitive ſovreignty, and to annex the Principality of Wales inſeparably, and as part of the dominion of the Crown, to the throne of England. At the ſame period, and indeed on that occaſion, a partial communication, and but a partial one, of the laws and police of England was made to Wales, by the *Statum Walliæ*, as it is called, in the twelfth year of the reign of Edward the Firſt. I mention theſe particulars only to obſerve, that at this period commenced an æra of connexion between England and Wales, not indeed preciſely the ſame in all points, but bearing, however, ſome reſemblance and analogy to that which we are principally conſidering to-day. I mean an imperfect political connexion, which conſiſted in the two countries being governed by the ſame

Prince,

Prince, with a partial uniformity of laws and inſtitutions, remaining diſtinct and ſeparate in other reſpects.

If we would appreciate the value of ſuch a connexion, and its efficacy in producing either internal tranquility or external peace, we have only to purſue the hiſtory of that connexion, throughout the whole period of its duration, from the reign of Edward the Firſt to that of Henry the Eighth. It is by no means my intention to interrupt this debate by ſuch a narrative, but merely to direct your Lordſhip's attention to the reſult of ſuch an enquiry. For your Lordſhips know that Wales was not only diſquieted within, by the troubles and turbulence of civil diſorder, but that both countries were afflicted by a perpetual ſucceſſion of mutual inroads and petty warfare, not perhaps of ſufficient dignity to attract the notice of general hiſtory, but ſufficient to keep them both expoſed to the frequent calamities, and the conſtant anxiety attending a ſtate of permanent hoſtility with a neighbouring enemy, and by theſe means retard and interrupt on both ſides of the border, but eſpecially in Wales, the progreſs of civilization, of arts,

of

of induſtry, of wealth, and, in a word, of public improvement in all its branches. But this was a ſtate of things, which, as I have ſaid, could not laſt for ever, and the only perfect and ſovereign remedy for ſuch diſorders, was at length adminiſtered in the reign of Harry the Eighth, by that incorporating legiſlative Union which extinguiſhed in a day the diſcord of ages, and identified forever theſe two not only diſtinct, but hoſtile nations. In our enquiry then concerning the comparative advantages or diſadvantages of theſe two modes of relation, I mean that imperfect one which propoſes to combine connexion with diſtinctneſs, and that perfect legiſlative Union which confounds and incorporates both the nations and their governments, we have only to compare, or rather to contraſt, the uneaſy and afflicting period which preceded the Union in the reign of Harry the Eighth, with the two centuries of mutual ſecurity and peace, and of progreſſive and ſtill increaſing proſperity and happineſs, power, ſplendour and dignity which have ſucceeded, and as it is reaſonable to conclude, have derived in a great degree, if not principally, from that event.

England

England felt very early the advantage of connexion with *Scotland*; and projects for uniting them, even on the beſt principle of Union, were ſet on foot, and repeated in various forms, and on the ſlighteſt proſpects of ſucceſs, from the earlieſt period down to the very lateſt, that is to ſay, to the actual accompliſhment of that ſalutary deſign. But ſuch purpoſes, wiſe and beneficial as they are, muſt, it ſeems, mature themſelves in the fullneſs of time; and although it is ordained that theſe events ſhall happen, they muſt happen, it would ſeem, in their due and appointed order. It will be found, I believe, that neighbouring nations will ſeldom begin with union, though they are ſure to end with it. The work of connexion commenced, then alſo, in this caſe, at the natural beginning of the proceſs, and conqueſt was reſorted to as the inſtrument of union. This part of the Scotch courſe, however, was never atchieved. Scotland never was conquered. But the attempt, and all the miſeries attending that long and obſtinate ſtruggle, deluged both countries in blood, and during more than three centuries afflicted them with calamities, the amount of which, on either ſide, hiſtorians

hiſtorians can hardly report faithfully, without the charge of exaggeration. This ſanguinary and ruinous conteſt terminated in the Union of the Crowns, at the acceſſion of James the firſt; and here commenced a century of that preciſe relation which is the ſubject of our preſent enquiry. The two kingdoms had one Prince, and one Executive Power, with ſeparate Parliaments. Scotland aſſerted a perfect independence and equality, but experienced a real ſubordination. It would, undoubtedly, be unfair, if I were to impute to this cauſe alone, the many diſadvantages under which Scotland appears to have laboured, and the declining condition of that country which is obſerved by hiſtorians during the period I have mentioned. Much of the calamity which fell upon both kingdoms, muſt be placed to the account of the troubles and civil wars to which every part of the iſland partook during a great proportion of the laſt century, and which, amongſt other extraordinary events produced, under the Commonwealth, a haſty and ſhort-lived, becauſe ill digeſted and ill conceived, Union of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland. But with all theſe allowances, it is not the leſs true, that the laſt

century was a period of great political diſcord and diſſention between England and Scotland, in which the latter country entertained and manifeſted, as we have been led to expect, that angry and querulous temper which I have deſcribed as growing out of the ſituation, and as inſeparable from that jarring and abhorrent union of nominal independence and real ſubordination. This cauſe produced its natural effects, and both diſturbed the empire in peace, and weakened it in war, ſometimes by political contention between the people of Scotland and the Monarch, ſometimes by the habitual animoſity of the two countries, hardly kept under by the authority or mediation of the common ſovereign, ſometimes by the intrigues of Scotland with France, and above all by the purſuit of the idol independence, to the very brink of ſeparation. The very unity of the Crowns became a grievance; and your Lordſhips know, that towards the cloſe of this period, I mean in the firſt years of the reign of Queen Anne and of the preſent century, partly by projects for abridging the perogative, becauſe it was adminiſtered out of Scotland, partly by projects for uſurping a conſiderable portion of the regal power, in order that it might

might be adminiſtered within Scotland; partly, in fine, by refuſing to accede to the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion adopted in England, the Parliament of Scotland, the patriots of Scotland, with the acclamation of the whole people of Scotland, brought the danger of impending ſeparation ſo home to the ſenſe and boſoms of both countries, that their prudence was at length alarmed; they opened their arms to each other, and took ſhelter from imminent and incurable ruin, in that inſeparable embrace which has ever ſince, and I truſt ever will, continue to unite us. It is thus that extremes touch, and thus that theſe two nations, from the laſt term of alienation and repugnance, paſſed at a ſingle ſtep, into the cloſeſt and moſt indiſſoluble union.

The connexion between England and Ireland began in conqueſt, and the relation was that of ſovereign and ſubject. I do not ſay a ſovereign able, at all times, to enforce his dominion, or a ſubmiſſive ſubject acknowledging and acquieſcing under the authority of his maſter. But whatever connexion ſubſiſted between the two countries, had that ori-

gin and preſerved that character through its firſt period. This firſt and intolerable ſtage of national relation paſſed forward, however, and ſoftened itſelf gradually, but through the ſanguinary proceſs of habitual reſiſtance and inſubordination, ſwelling occaſionally into civil wars and rebellions of the moſt ferocious character, into a dependent connexion, or a mitigated but avowed dependence of Ireland on England. I allude now to that period during which the Iriſh nation, with a parliament of their own, were, however, ſubject to the legiſlature of England. I do not ſpeak of the *right*, nor wiſh to engage in that already obſolete, though recent controverſy. I ſpeak only of the *fact*, for ſuch was the conſtitution, *de facto*, of Engliſh and Iriſh connexion, in the memory of the youngeſt of your Lordſhips. This ſecond period, alſo, paſſed away, and the preſent improved ſtate of Iriſh independence, as it now ſubſiſts, was atchieved by means, which I have already had occaſion to allude to; I mean by the opportune exertion of Iriſh energy in moments of Britiſh debility and diſtreſs. For thoſe conceſſions were certainly granted in circumſtances of dureſs, whether they may now, with better grace, be ſtated to have

have flowed from the juſtice and liberal diſpoſition of the conceding country, or not. In the mean while we have arrived, in the due and regular courſe, at that preciſe point of connexion, which has been the principal object of diſcuſſion. We have a common prince, with ſeparate parliaments. Ireland claims a ſovereign independent government, and that claim is freely admitted by our own; while we exerciſe, nevertheleſs, with the acquieſcence of Ireland, an open aſcendancy and controul in every one of its concerns. We are at this moment, therefore, making an experiment, which is not yet twenty years old, of the mutual advantages to be derived from that mode of connexion, of its efficacy in ſtrengthening the empire, in repelling danger from without, in reconciling the minds and affections of the nations within, and, finally, in cementing and perpetuating their union. We muſt, indeed, regard the preſent moment as the firſt, in which the courſe of events has furniſhed the proper ordeal of this condition; I mean a criſis of difficulty and danger to the empire; for this is the true touchſtone on which the virtue of connexion and of mutual engagements may be proved. Surely, my Lords,

Lords, at this period of the argument, I may claim the benefit of facts, of which we are ourſelves the living witneſſes, and appeal at once to the diſaſtrous teſtimony of the preſent hour, not only for the inadequacy of ſuch a ſyſtem to yield protection and ſupport in the period of difficulty, but for its active and fatal efficacy in augmenting the danger and haſtening the common ruin. Can we need better proof than every tide has of late brought us, that the preſent feeble and flimſy bond which connects Great Britain with Ireland, does not poſſeſs one principle of ſtability, and has not ſtamina to reſiſt that innate tendency to decay and diſſolution, which accompanies all life from the cradle, whether natural or politick. What reſult then is it reaſonable to look for from this experiment? I ſhould wiſh to ſpeak on this occaſion, not merely with reſpect, but I muſt ſay, with gratitude and reverence, of the conduct held by that which we muſt call the Iriſh nation, and which is, indeed, entitled to that appellation. I mean the Iriſh Government, the Iriſh Parliament, a great portion of the property of Ireland, of its gentry, and even of its people. In theſe we have witneſſed exertions of courage, activity, perſeverance, and ſpirit,

ſpirit, as well as of fidelity and honour, in fulfilling the engagements of their connexion with us, and in the protection and defence of their own country, which challenge the thanks of Great Britain, and the approbation of the world. But this ſentiment cannot either conceal from us, or diſguiſe other truths, not leſs obvious, though leſs grateful and welcome. The loyalty, the prudence, and ſpirit, which we commend, on one hand, do not, however, prevent an extenſive and deſperate conſpiracy, on the other, againſt the common ſafety of Great Britain and Ireland, and aiming, above all, avowedly and diſtinctly againſt that connexion, in which the ſafety of both is felt to reſide. After hearing his Majeſty's lawful exerciſe of the powers with which the Conſtitution of Ireland has inveſted him, and the legitimate means employed by the Sovereign of that country to preſerve a uniformity of meaſures in the direction of our common intereſts, treated as the interference of a foreign power, we have the misfortune of ſeeing at this hour a great portion of the Iriſh people, conſiderable for its numbers, and, I fear, not altogether contemptible, even for its blood and talents, in open rebellion againſt our common Sovereign.

reign, and in cloſe alliance with our common enemy. The diſſolution of all connexion between us is the object they profeſs. The grievance which they have riſen to redreſs is that connexion; the cauſe which their manifeſtos proclaim, the ſtandard under which they muſter and fight, is ſeparation. This end then, towards which we have ſeen ſuch connexions are continually prone, this very ſeparation, which is the natural inborn propenſity of imperfect relation, is already, in this caſe, the ſubject of a cival war, and is at this moment committed to the iſſue of arms, which is ſtill depending. I have glanced, in this manner, the hiſtory of Britiſh and Iriſh connexion only to ſhew, that amongſt its many other evils, that of tendency to total extinction, which we have been taught by principle, and by the example of other countries, to expect, is proved in fact, and in the actual caſe, to be one of its properties; and I am hardly apprehenſive of a diſſenting voice to the concluſion which appears to me to reſult from this deduction, whether of hiſtory or reaſon, that we have reached the point at which, in the firſt place, the evils of imperfect connexion are at their height, and in the next, beyond which lies only that alternative,

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ſo often mentioned, of ſeparation or union. We ſtand preciſely in that predicament, in which the prudence of both countries, and the fidelity and honour of thoſe who are entruſted with their intereſts, I mean their Governments and Legiſlatures, are called upon by the moſt ſolemn and inſtant appeal, I mean the peril of their countries, to ſnatch them from that precipice, on the very edge of which they ſtand, already wavering, and too giddy to ſave themſelves. It cannot, ſurely, be a difficult or doubtful queſtion, whether we ſhould fold our arms, and look on upon this danger, and the certain ruin in which it ends, or follow that ſecure and already trodden path which has already conducted two other countries, now identified with England, I mean Wales and Scotland, to more than ſafety. We have ſurely learnt from both thoſe examples, that the meaſure adopted by them, not only offords a perfect remedy againſt the evils with which we are now contending, but poſſeſſes preciſely the oppoſite property from that which is the character of our preſent imperfect, ill-conſtructed connexion; namely, that of tending to a conſtant and certain improvement and perfection, inſtead of diminution and

deterioration of union and all its beneficial fruits.

Having hitherto treated the queſtion ſomewhat ſpeculatively, I would now ſpeak more particularly to the practical inducements which ſhould recommend this meaſure to both countries; and, firſt, to Great Britain.

The advantages to be derived to Great Britain from an incorporating union with Ireland may be divided into poſitive and negative.

By poſitive, I mean an acceſſion of real and efficient force to our preſent Empire, as a naval and military power; for were all cauſe of difference between the countries extinguiſhed, and were the affections of the whole of Ireland as ſincerely directed towards the general ſervice of the Empire, and its force as diſpoſable for that purpoſe, as may be ſaid of every part of Great Britain, it cannot be doubted that the power and reſources of that Empire would receive an eſſential augmentation and improvement. But I would rather paſs on to that claſs of advantage which I have called negative, and which appears to me the moſt material of the two.

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By the negative advantage of union, I mean that of avoiding, in moments of war and difficulty, thoſe embarraſſments which have never failed to diſtract and annoy us as often, at leaſt of late years, as war and difficulty have occurred, and which render Ireland, at this moment, inſtead of a reſource, only a dead weight hung round the neck of Britiſh exertion, at a time when the full energy of both might be well employed againſt the common enemy. The caſe is ſuch, that we have not only to contend with this difficulty in our conteſt with France, but it muſt, I think, be an improvident and ſanguine view of our own affairs, and of the general events in Europe, to conſider even the preſervation of Ireland, I mean her preſervation to the paternal government of his Majeſty, and the continuance of any connexion between us, as a matter which is not become, in ſome degree or other, problematical and precarious. I would by no means be underſtood to ſpeak deſpondently on that ſubject; I am far from feeling ſo. I ſpeak only of danger and doubt, as exciting a prudent exertion to counteract them, not of a mean or unprofitable fear. No man in England can repoſe a more entire confidence in

the vigilance, the ſkill and the divine valour of the Britiſh navy than myſelf. I profeſs an equal reliance on the courage and diſcipline of Britiſh troops, endowed as I have always thought them with higher excellence than thoſe of any other nation in the world. I have a firm confidence alſo in the ſpirit and bravery of the Iriſh nation, and in the honour and fidelity of that part of it which profeſſes attachment to our empire, and to our mutual connexion; but with all theſe grounds of rational hope and expectation, there are two points in which I cannot feel the ſame implicit confidence, on each of which, however, our ultimate ſecurity, and the iſſue of this conteſt muſt depend. I cannot rely confidently on the conſtancy of fortune in war; nor on the ſteadineſs and uniformity of any national ſentiment whatever. I do not know why there is a rebellion in Ireland at all. I have never heard any adequate cauſe aſſigned for it. Such pretences as have been reſorted to for juſtifying it, have either been poſterior to the events of which they are alledged to have been the cauſes; or utterly irreconcileable with the avowed objects of the rebellion. Who for example will believe thoſe

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men ſincere who would aſcribe their inſurrection to the religious differences between two ſects of chriſtians, while they propoſe to redreſs that grievance, by a remedy, the ſucceſs of which muſt eradicate from their country, or ſubject to a furious and fanatic perſecution, the profeſſion of chriſtianity itſelf? I have never, I ſay, heard any diſtinct grievance articulated, which would not be enhanced a thouſand fold, by the moſt perfect ſucceſs that can be propoſed in the acknowledged objects of this abſurd rebellion. Not knowing then the principle of the preſent troubles in Ireland, I have no rule for meaſuring their extent, or for limiting their progreſs, and I cannot ſay with confidence, whether any part of the Iriſh nation, or at leaſt the greater and predominant part, will at ſome future period even profeſs adherence to Britiſh connexion; neither am I endowed with the means of predicting poſitively the event of another enterprize againſt Ireland, if the enemy ſhould attempt it in more favourable circumſtances. I repeat it, my Lords, I do not deſpond on this view of the danger; I ſay on the contrary that the proper means are ſure to repel it. I ſpeak only of the danger as of a motive for exerting

exerting both wiſdom and courage in oppoſing it. In that view I am conſtrained to acknowledge doubt, and doubt on ſuch a queſtion, cannot be diveſted of anxiety, nor ſeparated from a duty to aim at the attainment of better ſecurity for objects of ſuch unappreciable value. I do not ſay Ireland muſt be loſt if we have not a Union, but I cannot ſay leſs than this, that we have no ſecurity for the preſervation of Ireland, if we do not draw the bonds of our connexion much cloſer, and that without delay. With ſuch apprehenſions it cannot be unſeaſonable to contemplate a little more cloſely, the conſequences of a total ſeparation from Ireland, and of the neceſſary attendant, at leaſt, in the preſent moment, on ſuch a rupture, I mean her immediate alliance with the French Republic. Momentous as theſe conſequences are, I ſhall paſs rapidly over them, becauſe they are too obvious, and their importance too ſenſible, to require, or, perhaps, admit of amplification.

An Iriſh democratic republic, or rather anarchy, muſt be the firſt and inſtant conſequence of our ſeparation. Let any man, then, attached to the Britiſh Conſtitution; let any one who is fond

fond of order and ſecurity in ſociety, or even afraid of the extremes of diſorder; let any one who would ſhrink from univerſal plunder, confiſcation and murder, with all the nameleſs miſeries, wretchedneſs and guilt, which are but the particulars of that aggregate called anarchy; let any man, I ſay, who has either the ſlighteſt concern for the human race and its happineſs, a ſpark of love for his country, or even a common and vulgar ſolicitude for his own or his childrens' ſecurity, reflect for a moment on the triumphant eſtabliſhment of a democratic anarchy in Ireland. It is not enough to ſay "*Proximus ardet*;" it is part of our own tenement which is in flames, and we come in abſolute contact with this peſtilent contagion. Let us, I ſay, conſider ſoberly, if you pleaſe, but deeply and ſeriouſly, how much this danger would be increaſed by ſuch an event, and what the nature of the danger is. I will not inſiſt on this topic; it might lead me too far. But I ſhall paſs to conſequences of another ſort.

Let us conſider, for example, what would be the ſituation of the weſtern coaſts of this iſland, from the Land's-end to the Hebrides. Let us

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aſk Cornwall, Devonſhire, Briſtol, Wales, Liverpool, Lancaſhire, Glaſgow; let us aſk thoſe whoſe houſes now ſtand on the margin of the Iriſh Channel, whoſe lawns and gardens are waſhed by that ſea, which now ſeparates them only from friends; let us aſk thoſe manufacturing coaſts and counties, and thoſe great trading cities which I have enumerated, and which now draw wealth and profit, without danger, from that channel, what their condition and that of their country will be, when they ſtand within hail of a powerful and ſavage enemy, which the darkneſs of a ſingle night can bring to their chamber doors. At preſent the Britiſh commerce and the Britiſh navy paſs freely through this channel, with friendly ports and coaſts on either ſide, as if it were an inland navigation; while the ſhips of the enemy cannot approach, nor entangle themſelves either for war or trade, with this maritime paſs. But after ſuch a change, when Ireland is hoſtile, and in the hands of an enemy, let thoſe who direct our naval affairs, and who, I will take this opportunity of ſaying it, do ſo with ſo much honour to themſelves, and ſo much ſolid advantage, as well as glory, to their country;

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let thoſe who are beſt acquainted with our maritime ſituation, declare, what new exertion of vigilance will be required, what additional number of ſhips and of ſeamen muſt be retained from offenſive war, and muſt abandon the ocean, to protect the coaſts of Great Britain againſt thoſe of Ireland, and to watch the ports of the latter country in its whole circumference. Let us reflect on the advantage loſt to the Britiſh navy and its operations, by excluſion from Cork, and from the ſouthern and weſtern harbours of Ireland; let that diſadvantage be only doubled by adding our loſs to the gain of the enemy, when they have all the ports and bays of Ireland at their diſpoſal or in their occupation. How many ſquadrons more muſt we employ to tend at once the armaments of Breſt and L'Orient, and thoſe of Ireland. What will be the ſituation of our channel and our weſtern trade, when enemies' cruizers iſſue from and ſhelter in France to the ſouthward, and Ireland to the northward, and far to the weſtward of the entrance of our channel. The Victualling Board will tell us how the navy will be ſupplied, when Cork is ſhut againſt us, and victuals only the Breſt ſquadrons. When the ports of Ireland are all

French, will it be equally impoſſible to tranſport troops from France, as when thoſe troops were to fight their way on ſhore, and the ſhips, which tranſported and convoyed them were to fight their way back to France? When a French and Iriſh army, receiving their orders from the French Directory, are at Belfaſt, and ready to embark within three hours ſail of the Britiſh coaſt, will invaſion be as chimerical and viſionary as it now is from France to the ſouthern counties of England? Will in fine internal diſcontent, or ſpeculative error, or the ſecret machinations of French corruption and Engliſh treaſon, or will popular hope in the firſt ſweets of diſorder and anarchy have leſs, or will they not have much more heart and confidence, when with the example of a ſucceſsful rebellion, they have alſo the ſupport of neighbouring armies to encourage them?

Theſe are ſome, far from all, it would be difficult to enumerate thus ſuddenly all the conſequences of Iriſh ſeparation from Great Britain, and connexion with France, as it would affect ourſelves. I am far from ſaying, I will never admit that even theſe accumulated difficulties,

difficulties, would prove too many for the hitherto unmatched powers of Britiſh energy or wiſdom. But I ſay the change would be great, the danger as yet untried, and the iſſue more doubtful than our prudence as Engliſhmen, and much more, our duty as entruſted with the intereſts of our country, ſhould permit us to expoſe it to, if the trial can be averted by any honourable means. It appears to me the greateſt peril to which the Britiſh Empire, whether we conſider its power and greatneſs without, or its ſecurity, freedom, and independence within, ever was or can be expoſed. On the queſtion, therefore, as it regards Great Britain, I have no heſitation in aſſenting to the meaſure, and concurring in this addreſs.

This conſideration might, perhaps, be thought in ſtrictneſs ſufficient for the attention of this Parliament, ſince the Parliament of Ireland is no doubt competent to deliberate and decide on all that regards the intereſt of Ireland in this queſtion. No man is leſs diſpoſed than I am, to controvert the concurrent competence of the Iriſh Parliament to deliberate, and its excluſive competence to decide

the queſtion as it regards Ireland. I muſt, nevertheleſs, think the intereſt of Ireland in this meaſure, a very material point in the deliberation of the Britiſh Parliament alſo. For although an entire union with that country appears to be deſirable on a ſeparate view of Britiſh intereſt; yet it would, in my opinion, ceaſe to be ſo, if it were not advantageous to Ireland alſo. The benefit muſt be mutual in this mutual tranſaction, in order to be enjoyed by either. The evils attending ſeparation would not be removed, but on the contrary would in my judgment, be much enhanced, by any meaſure which ſhould unite us at the expence, or to the eſſential prejudice of either. If ſincere and cordial harmony is not the fruit of union; if identity in conſtitution is not founded on identity of intereſt, and is not followed by identity of ſentiment and feeling towards the united empire, ſuch an union will not cure the evils of imperfect relation, or even ſeparation, but may bring ſome of them nearer and more home to both; and will produce but few of thoſe advantages which I conſider as the true inducements to that meaſure. I claim it, therefore, as an Engliſh queſtion, to enquire whether Union with Great Britain will

will be beneficial to Ireland; and I ſhould propoſe to purſue that enquiry not for the purpoſe of inſtructing Ireland in her own intereſts or duties, but for that of informing ourſelves of the intereſt of our own country in this meaſure, and reſting the judgment of the Britiſh Parliament, if it ſhould be favourable to it, on the only ſolid and ſecure baſis, of mutual and reciprocal advantage.

I am, therefore, to conſider the conſequences which would reſult to Ireland, from that ſituation of which I have already deſcribed ſome of the conſequences to England; I mean a total ſeparation from Great Britain, and alliance with the French Republic. I have already aſſumed as the firſt fruit of this event, or probably as either preceding or accompanying it, the abolition, in all its parts, of the preſent conſtitution of Ireland, the zealous attachment to which is oppoſed to all the advantages of Union, and the eſtabliſhment on its ruins, of an Iriſh Republic on the French model. This change and all the complicated calamity it bears *in gremio*, I conſider as more fatal than all the reſt to the happineſs of Ireland; but I will rather poſtpone its conſideration

ſideration for a moment, and advert to the other leſs important, indeed, but yet ſerious effects of ſuch a revolution. It implies then, in the firſt place, a ſtate of open hoſtility to England; and this warfare muſt in all probability partake of the nature of civil war. For it cannot be imagined, that Ireland ſhould be unanimous in ſurrendering a free Government and embracing French chains; nor in preferring that abhord compound of guilt and madneſs, of infamy and ruin, to the bleſſings of religion, law, honour, ſecurity, and genuine freedom; nor is it imaginable that Ireland will be unanimous in rejecting Britiſh connexion for the purpoſe of fraternizing with France. The event which I have ſuppoſed, I have ſuppoſed to be the iſſue of war, in which one party in Ireland, now the ſtrongeſt, and I truſt the moſt numerous, has been ſubdued. But ſubmiſſion to force does not change the mind; and were ſuch a calamity to befall Ireland, the new Iriſh Directory will find that the armies of England, when employed in the reſcue of Ireland from that ſlavery, will be ſeconded by a great and powerful portion of their ſubjects. Ireland then is doomed in this event, to foreign and internal war, with all its complicated

complicated miſeries, of which the bitterneſs is indeed, yet on the palate of that unhappy country. I have already ſpoken of the diſadvantages to which even England would be ſubjected from the hoſtility of Ireland. It is manifeſt that the country which is the leaſt powerful on ſhore, and is null at ſea, muſt labour under the ſame diſadvantage multiplied in an infinite degree. A French army in Ireland is the natural conſequence of this ſtate of things: if that army is weak, it cannot protect them; if it is ſtrong and adequate to the objects of France in ſending it, as aſſuredly it will be. Ireland becomes a miſerable province of France. But Ireland as a ſeparate ſtate, muſt alone provide for all the imperial eſtabliſhments to which ſhe now contributes but a part. Ireland muſt have an army all her own, and ſhe will find ſhe muſt ſubſidize her allied army, not by treaty only, but by requiſition and contribution, and every other form of exaction and extortion, limited by the modeſty of the French Directors, their Generals, and all their ſubordinate officers of plunder. They muſt have fortified towns, and all the eſtabliſhments of that coſtly branch of defence. They muſt have a navy, build ſhips, maintain

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arſenals and dock-yards, ſupply their navy with ſtores and proviſions, and they muſt man and pay their fleets, all from their own funds and reſources. Have the œconomiſts of Ireland computed the price of theſe imperial honours, if indeed, they can be borne at all? But let them conſider, whether the inſulated trade and wealth of Ireland will furniſh either men or money for ſuch demands, even after the people ſhould have ſo far belied all the experience which the world has had of them, by ſubmitting with perfect obedience to the utmoſt exactions that can be laid upon them. It would after all be worthy of a moment's reflexion, whether if Ireland ſhould not ſuddenly accompliſh that which France, Spain, and Holland, ſeconded by an armed neutrality of the maritime powers of the North; that is to ſay, what the whole naval world have tried in vain, I mean ſhould not ſuddenly acquire a ſuperiority at ſea over Great Britain, whether her commerce and every hope which her inſular ſituation could ſuggeſt or realize, muſt not be held by ſufferance, and at the mercy of that powerful and offended neighbour, to whom nature had allied her, but whoſe generous offer of an equal and honourable partici-

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pation in power, proſperity and happineſs ſhe had rejected with inſult, as if it had been an injury. Ireland will, no doubt, not expect after her ſeparation from England, and alliance with our enemies, to partake freely in our Eaſt India or our colonial trade; nor will ſhe expect of England in thoſe circumſtances, the great and liberal ſacrifices which ſhe now makes to the ſupport and promotion of Iriſh induſtry, with the amount and particulars of which a noble Lord has juſt made us acquainted; ſacrifices which, however liberal in their extent, and however beneficial to Ireland in their effect, I conſider only as a natural indulgence of fraternal affection, as well as a wiſe exertion of imperial policy, while we are united; but which muſt of neceſſity expire with our connexion. Will the trade of France, or the ſhare of it to which they would be admitted, and the conditions of its tenure, compenſate this loſs? Will reſtraints and prohibitions on the commercial intercourſe between England and Ireland be no loſs to the latter country? The papers on your Lordſhips' table will inſtruct us on that point.

The conſiderations which I have already enumerated are of no light or trivial import; but I muſt now ſet before the eyes of Iriſh gentlemen, one inſeparable conſequence of ſuch a revolution, and one of which they are no doubt aware. I mean the expulſion and confiſcation, not to ſay the blood of thoſe who now ſupport their antient connexion with England; and whom the caſe I have ſtated ſuppoſes to have been defeated. But will confiſcation and murder go no deeper even than this? In the ſavage triumph of democratical anarchy, will not every friend to the eſtabliſhed conſtitution of Ireland, to the authority of law, or even to the moral reſtraints of virtue and religion, will not every one who is guilty of that unpardonable irremiſſible crime, the poſſeſſion of property, real or perſonal, great or ſmall, will not in a word all thoſe whoſe ſituation ſeems to offer either a lure, or a curb to violence, be involved in that undiſtinguiſhing maſſacre and pillage which ſweeps the way before and bears up the train of ſuch revolutions? I muſt indeed put it, my Lords, ſeriouſly and earneſtly, not as a topic of declamation, or falſe and artificial feeling, but as furniſhing

niſhing the ſoundeſt argument, and exciting the warmeſt ſolicitude, to the property, and I may ſay to the induſtry, and to the virtue of Ireland, without diſtinction of degree, or of religious perſuaſion, what would be the conſequence of a complete victory obtained by France in Ireland, what would be the inevitable conſequence of delivering Ireland, with all her political, religious and civil intereſts, over to the diſcretion of that deſcription of Iriſhmen who would then become their maſters, and of that deſcription of anarchy which muſt follow ſuch events as I have deſcribed---I chooſe rather to hint at than to dwell on ſuch topics. They are indeed fitter for the private meditation of thoſe who are concerned in them, than for a public diſcuſſion or rhetorical amplification. I am content with having ſtated ſhortly and diſpaſſionately the nature and degree of ſome of thoſe dangers which may induce England to conſent to Union, but which ſeem to command Ireland, with the authority of urgent and inſtant neceſſity, to ſeek without delay, the refuge which this meaſure preſents to her.

It is impoſſible to overlook ſome circumſtances in the internal and political condition of Ireland, which bear as powerfully on the queſtion of Union, and ſeem to recommend that meaſure to the people of Ireland, as ſtrongly for the purpoſes of equal government, and of civil and municipal happineſs, as on any other grounds whatever. Ireland is a divided country, but unequally divided as to property and numbers; the leaſt numerous claſs poſſeſſing the property and the power; but the moſt numerous entertaining, and indeed cheriſhing fondly, and tenaciouſly, claims on both, I mean both on the property and the power. I need not detain your Lordſhips by deſcribing the extent or the violence of thoſe paſſions which inflame and exaſperate both parts of the Iriſh nation againſt each other. Every one knows the firm and immoveable baſis on which their mutual hatred ſtands, the irreconcileable nature of its motives, its bitter, malignant, and implacable character. In this frame and temper of mind, however, towards each other, one of theſe portions of Ireland claims and exerciſes what is felt by both, to be a ſpecies of dominion over the other.

other. I believe it is hardly too much to ſay, that there are two nations in Ireland; two Iriſh peoples; the one ſovereign, the other ſubject. The ſovereign claſs, or caſt of Iriſhmen, claim their ſovereignty as of right, and ground it on an old title of conqueſt, confirmed, as they contend, by poſſeſſion, acquieſcence, and preſcription. They claim alſo the federal ſupport of Great Britain in maintaining this dominion, on the ſolemn grounds of fidelity to implied compact, compenſation for ſacrifices, and reward for ſervices. They ſhew a cloſe alliance and identity of views between themſelves and the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland in all times, and they rely as ſtrongly on recent, and even on preſent exertions in a common cauſe, as on the uniform tenour of their ancient ſervices. In a word, they call at once upon our honour and our gratitude, and they ſupport that appeal by a ſtream and ſeries of facts which we cannot controvert. I muſt confeſs that I have always felt this point as conſtituting a true and proper dilemma—on the one hand, I cannot admit the aſcendancy of one part of a nation, over another part of the ſame nation, to the extent and to the purpoſe claimed in Ireland, as capable of

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aſſuming any character deſerving the denomination of right. That which is a wrong on one ſide, cannot, intelligibly to me, become a right in the other. Wrong is not a material out of which it appears poſſible to conſtruct right; and I do not think the virtues of poſſeſſion, preſcription, or any other limitation of time, which are ſuppoſed to cure the vices of a bad title, at all applicable to the caſe of perpetually ſubſiſting, and, as it were, renovating wrongs, eſpecially ſuch as affect the political rights of great numbers of men. The operation of preſcription in confirming titles, even in the private tranſactions of property, is, indeed, different, I believe, from the common notion that is formed of it. Preſcription does not cure the original vice of a bad title; but, after all memory of the good title, which had been ſupplanted by the uſurped one, has been loſt and buried under the oblivion of time, preſcription, that is to ſay, the lapſe of time within which legal memory can ſurvive, determines the expiration of the old title and gives effect, not to the bad one which firſt ſuperſeded it, but to a new title ariſing out of poſſeſſion, and conſummated in this manner by the completion of preſcriptive time.

Nothing

Nothing of this applies to ſubſiſting and continuing wrongs, in which the length of their duration, and the frequency of their repetition, inſtead of diminiſhing the injury, muſt be felt to be a grievous aggravation, and inſtead of converting wrong into right, ſeems only to improve and fortify the title of thoſe who ſuffer, to ſhake off the injury on the firſt opportunity that offers. If poſſeſſion then will not conſtitute this ſingular right which is claimed in wrong, as between the parties themſelves, neither can it be improved by the intereſts, the engagements, or the obligations of a third party: and I do not ſee how the *jus tertii*, as it may be called, of England, can affect the relative claims of theſe two Iriſh nations, or of theſe two parts of the Iriſh nation. On this ground, therefore, and merely on this general and abſtract view of the queſtion, I confeſs I might have thought it difficult to aſſign a ſufficient reaſon to preclude his Majeſty as Sovereign of Ireland, from concurring with his Iriſh Parliament, or even from exerting, in every lawful way, his legitimate powers in promoting ſuch meaſures as might be calculated to place every claſs of his Iriſh ſubjects on an equal footing, as to civil rights,

rights, and conſolidate theſe two hoſtile nations into one peaceable and united family.—But in truth your Lordſhips know that nothing can be leſs rational, nor more dangerous, and often fatal than theſe abſtract views of practical queſtions, affecting the intereſts of multitudes and of nations. In the blind purſuit of abſtract right, we ſhall often find ourſelves, innocently no doubt, if our intention be conſidered, but yet too effectually, the inſtruments of great practical injuſtice and oppreſſion. I believe there are few caſes to which this obſervation applies more cloſely, than to that which we are conſidering.—That part of Ireland which we would wiſh to redreſs, claim not only political equality in the Government of their country, a claim in which I confeſs I cannot help ſympathiſing with them; but they are known to entertain, and to nouriſh yet more fondly and anxiouſly, though perhaps not yet ſo loudly or diſtinctly pronounced, claims of a very different nature. We cannot be ignorant that the firſt application of thoſe rights with which we ſhould be diſpoſed to inveſt them, is likely to be the perpetration of a great wrong, and that at bottom, that wrong was, perhaps, the true and eventual object of

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their actual demand, and would be the practical result of its attainment. The Catholics of Ireland not only claim a participation in the civil franchises enjoyed by their Proteſtant countrymen; but they foſter claims on the *property* of Proteſtants, the preſent poſſeſſion of which they treat as mere uſurpation, and theſe claims are of no trifling extent. We know the aſpiring character of their church, or if you pleaſe, of all churches, or of all bodies and deſcriptions of men. We muſt, above all, recollect what is perhaps more urgent than all the reſt, that the Catholics, beſides their claims, civil or religious, have paſſions to gratify, paſſions long irritated, long reſtrained, but not on that account the leſs vehement, or dangerous. I have heard ſuch apprehenſions treated lightly, as the productions either of imagination or ignorance; and I certainly pretend to no credit on ſuch points, from perſonal knowledge or inquiry. I ſhould wiſh therefore to qualify any thing that may appear raſh or peremptory, in what I hazard on ſuch a ſubject, by avowing that degree of diffidence in my own views, which may be thought becoming with regard to facts, which though atteſted, I think, ſatisfactorily by others, have

not fallen under my own obſervation. But with this qualification, I confeſs that I find it difficult to reſiſt a concluſion to which the general knowledge we may all poſſeſs of the human character, applied to ſuch facts as all admit, ſeems to lead us. I muſt therefore profeſs a ſtrong impreſſion, that if to the phyſical force already poſſeſſed by the Catholic body, and which conſiſts in ſuperiority of numbers, were added by any ſuch revolution as that which we are conſidering, the advantages of political power, and the weight and influence which belong to the authority of Government and Legiſlation, ſome danger might accrue to the property, the eſtabliſhment, and even the perſonal ſecurity of the Proteſtant in Ireland; and with this apprehenſion on our own minds, the alarm expreſſed by thoſe who are ſo deeply intereſted in the conſequences of ſuch meaſures, ſeems entitled to our ſerious and earneſt attention.

I am not more clear, therefore, in thinking the Catholics entitled to a fair participation in the civil and political franchiſes of Iriſhmen, than I am in feeling, that the Proteſtants ought

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to be protected and defended in the ſecurity of their property, their religion, and their perſons, againſt every violence which the Catholics might be diſpoſed to attempt, when they have paſſed from their preſent ſtate of ſubjection to that of authority and power. The dilemma, therefore, has hitherto conſiſted in this. The Proteſtants could not be ſupported in that aſcendancy which ſeems neceſſary even for their protection, without derogating from what may appear to be a natural right of the Catholics. The Catholics could not be ſupported in their claim of equality, without transferring to them that aſcendancy which equality of rights muſt draw to the larger body, and which from that moment muſt expoſe the Proteſtants to dangers from which they ought to be protected. Such ſeem to be the practical difficulties in the way of abſtract juſtice, while the Government of Ireland continues merely local. An Iriſh Parliament, in which the aſcendancy is either Proteſtant or Catholic, and it cannot chooſe, but lie on one ſide or the other, may be expected ſtill, I fear, to gore and lacerate their country, by one or other of the horns of this dilemma; and I ſee no perfect remedy for Iriſh diviſion,

and its lamentable conſequences, while theſe two enraged and implacable opponents are ſtill ſhut up together, are ſtill encloſed within the very theatre, on the very arena of their ancient and furious contention. I do ſincerely think that this divided and double condition of the Iriſh people requires ſomething of an *imperial aula*, a legiſlature founded on a broader and more liberal baſis, to adminiſter impartial laws to all, and to reconcile ſecurity with juſtice. While one of theſe parties muſt judge the other, in which ever hand the faſces may be placed, I fear there is reaſon to expect only violence in the ſuit, and if not injuſtice, at leaſt ſlow and imperfect juſtice in the decree. My mind, I confeſs, cannot reſiſt the conviction ariſing out of all theſe conſiderations, that the united Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, will in the peculiar circumſtances of Ireland, conſtitute a better legiſlature, and a more perfect, becauſe a more impartial Parliament, for all Ireland, than any repreſentation of a minor part or ſection of Ireland, in a ſeparate, local Parliament ever can. I am perſuaded that laws beneficial to the maſs of the people of Ireland, and promoting its general proſperity and happineſs,

pineſs, may be expected with greater confidence from the united Parliament, in which local partialities, intereſts, and paſſions, will not divert the ſtraight and equal current of legiſlation, than in an Iriſh Parliament, where theſe ſtumbling blocks muſt for ever bend or impede its courſe. In the united Parliament right may be done unaccompanied by wrong. Iriſh Catholics may be inveſted with their political capacities, without the ſlighteſt danger to Proteſtant eſtabliſhment or property. Theſe, on the contrary, muſt acquire a tenfold and hundredfold ſecurity in the Proteſtant Parliament, and the genuine Proteſtant aſcendancy of the united kingdom—The Proteſtant church and property may, on the other hand, be ſecured, without perpetuating the preſent humiliating and degrading excluſion of the Catholic part of the Iriſh nation. Such are ſome of the particularities in the condition of Ireland, which appear to me to add in her caſe, many powerful inducements to thoſe which in every other inſtance may invite neighbouring and friendly countries to a cloſe and intimate union of their governments.

I con-

I confeſs, that to me theſe conſiderations furniſh, by no means the weakeſt recommendation of this meaſure. I look with peculiar ſatisfaction towards the proſpect which it ſeems to open, I think in truth, for the firſt time in the hiſtory of Ireland, of doing juſtice to one part of that nation without injury to the other, and of providing for the general proſperity and happineſs, without bringing calamity on any particular part. For I cannot conſider the admiſſion of fellow citizens to a participation of common franchiſes, as an injury to thoſe who happen already to poſſeſs them; nor the loſs or even deſtitution of partial and excluſive dominion over fellow ſubjects, as any wrong. The Proteſtants have a ſacred right to their properties, to their religion and to their own liberties; but the liberties of their Catholic brethren are no part of that property; they have no narrow corporate right, or none that I can wiſh to ſupport them in, in the government of their countrymen; nor can I ſee that the ſubjection of the Catholics muſt be an article in the charter of Proteſtant liberties.

If

If the Union, therefore, preſent a hope of meliorating the condition, and extinguiſhing the diſcontents of a great majority of the inhabitants of Ireland, without expoſing the reſt to danger, but on the contrary, adding the moſt ſubſtantial ſecurities to all their legitimate rights, I muſt profeſs myſelf on that account, and perhaps, I may ſay, principally on that account, a warm friend to the meaſure; and I am free to confeſs that if theſe were not to be the conſequences, I ſhould expect very little advantage from it. I am deſirous, therefore, of declaring for myſelf, that I ſhall think the Union much more perfect, much better adapted to all its beneficial ends, and the benefits to be expected from it, in ſuch a caſe, I think incalculable, if the juſt claims of the Catholic Iriſh are provided for by an explicit article of the treaty itſelf. After having thus declared my own mind, and diſtinctly pronounced my own judgment on this great leading point, I think it right to add, that if any political peculiarities of the preſent time, ſhould render it impracticable to engroſs theſe wholeſome proviſions in the written treaty itſelf, I would rather reſtrain my wiſhes for the

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immediate accompliſhment of this deſirable end, than expoſe this great tranſaction to needleſs and unprofitable hazard, by unſeaſonable pertinacity or impatience. And I ſhould ſtill look with confidence to a period when the object I have mentioned will reſult as a natural conſequence, from the treaty, and when this deſirable change will flow, with many other bleſſings, from the impartiality of the imperial and united legiſlature—If I were worthy then of offering to the loyal Catholics of Ireland the advice of an individual, who has no other claim to their attention, than that of uniting a ſpirit of liberal toleration, and a ſtrong favour towards common right as oppoſed to monopoly, of combining, I ſay, theſe ſentiments with ſomething of a practicable diſpoſition which would not reject attainable good when a more perfect accompliſhment of right is out of reach, I would implore their prudent acquieſcence in a meaſure which muſt ultimately conſolidate their intereſts with thoſe of their country; which will bring, in its ſeaſon, relief to the Catholics and ſecurity to the Proteſtants of Ireland; which will improve the wealth, the

proſperity,

proſperity, the dignity, the manners, and the public and private happineſs of their country; and which conferring theſe bleſſings with one hand, will avert with the other, the certain ruin, deſolation and ſlavery, which are at this moment impending over their native land.

I wiſh to guard againſt one miſinterpretation. When I prefer the United Parliament to that of Ireland, as at preſent conſtituted, I ſhould be much miſunderſtood, if I were thought to profeſs a diſtruſt of the wiſdom and juſtice of the Iriſh Parliament in general, or to impute to it the ſlighteſt degree of incompetence to the general objects of its legiſlative duties. I profeſs, on the contrary, the higheſt and moſt unfeigned reſpect, both for the Iriſh Parliament as a body, and for many of its members, with whom I have, indeed, little, or I might nearly ſay, no perſonal acquaintance, but whoſe characters and talents, as public men, I have contemplated, as others do, with the reſpect and admiration they juſtly inſpire. What I have hazarded on this ſubject, the delicacy of which I am not inſenſible to, amounts only to this; that in one great branch and member of Iriſh affairs, the pre-

ſent Iriſh Parliament muſt be conſidered as a party, and in thoſe concerns, a major part of the people muſt now receive the law from an adverſe and rival authority. Whereas, in the United Parliament, the Iriſh members will furniſh all the local information, and will poſſeſs all the weight and influence, which the general affairs and intereſts of that country require; while thoſe local or partial feelings which might warp the judgment of the beſt intentioned Iriſhmen, on ſome ſubjects, might be moderated, and temperated, by the mediating impartiality of the imperial Parliament.

I would now conſider one or two general objections, which I have obſerved to be *moſt* prominent in the oppoſition to *this meaſure*, and I ſhall begin with that which appears to have been the moſt operative and ſucceſsful throughout Ireland, and to have had the greateſt ſhare in the rejection of this important and ſalutary propoſal. I mean the notion, that a Legiſlative Union, however beneficial in its effect, to the intereſts of Ireland, is, however, in ſome way, derogatory to the honour, and national independance of that country.

The

The whole of this topic will be found to be an appeal from reaſon to feeling, and, indeed, from a juſt and genuine feeling to a blind and inconſiderate one. It is intended, like moſt of the objections on this queſtion, to preclude the diſcuſſion of its merits; and what is peculiar to this particular objection, it is not only intended to elude the merits of the principal queſtion, but ſeems to diſclaim the diſcuſſion even of any proper and ſpecific merits of its own. It is uſed, in truth, to diſqualify thoſe to whom it is preſented for all deliberation whatever, by exciting the paſſions, and interpoſing the flame and dazzle of enthuſiaſm, between the eye and the object it is to examine. Thoſe who employ this topic, have undoubtedly a conſiderable advantage; for, in the firſt place, many more are ſuſceptible of ſtrong and lively feeling, than capable, or willing, to form an enlightened and deliberate judgment on any ſubject whatever. In the next place, the feeling applied to, is in itſelf by no means unnatural, and ſo far from being culpable, or a ſubject of reproach, muſt, on the contrary, be claſſed with thoſe affections which are the moſt beneficial to the world,

and the moſt honourable to thoſe who poſſeſs them. It is, in a word, a branch or mode of patriotiſm, that virtue which embraces the whole range of our public duties, and which is an object of too much reſpect and veneration, when genuine and well directed, not to challange ſome indulgence even in its errors and deluſions. I cannot, however, help ſuſpecting, that thoſe who avoid diſcuſſion, are not very firm or confident on the merits; and that paſſion is ſeldom excluſively applied to, when reaſon is on the ſame ſide. Enthuſiaſm is, indeed, in general, to be accounted but an unſafe and unfaithful guide. The guide is himſelf blind, and I know not how to ſearch for truth with better hope of ſucceſs, than by the light of ſuch reaſon as Providence may have beſtowed upon us. I ſhould propoſe, therefore, to follow that courſe, and to conſider diſpaſſionately, even this paſſion. I would fairly and deliberately enquire, whether a ſincere regard for the national dignity of Ireland, does, indeed, oppoſe any ſolid objection to a Legiſlative Union with Great Britain.

I ſhall

I ſhall waſte but little of your Lordſhips' time, in analyzing the nature and foundation of thoſe local affections towards particular ſpots, which ſeem to circumſcribe the general benevolence of mankind within the rivers or ſeas, or mountains, which encompaſs that which we call our country. Perhaps that expanſive love of our fellow creatures, which has obtained the general name of philanthropy, may have been compreſſed into narrower bounds, in order to augment its energy in the proper ſcene of its exertion; perhaps this large and diffuſe motive may have been drawn home as it were, and retrenched within limits more commenſurate with the ſize and ſphere of human action. But no matter how or why, the love of our country certainly exiſts; it is the nobleſt affection of the human breaſt; and I have no doubt is of divine origin—I am to acknowledge that Ireland, both by its dimenſions, its local poſition, and every other circumſtance attending it, offers a fit object for that paſſion, the ardour of which may well be improved into enthuſiaſm and zeal, by the many natural charms which, I underſtand, abound in that country, and by that to which

I can,

I can, indeed, ſpeak myſelf, I mean the many generous qualities which diſtinguiſh its inhabitants, and ſeem to endear that nation to thoſe who compoſe it—I am willing alſo to admit, that beſides that ſolicitude for the happineſs and well-being of the people who inhabit our country, which is the proper and diſtinctive feature by which true patriotiſm is to be recognized, this local affection may alſo attach a ſort of intereſt, and a certain importance and value, to the ſeparate political exiſtence, or individuality, of that country. That identical ſpace has contained the habitual objects of our regard, and an aſſociation may have been eſtabliſhed between our local and moral attachment, in ſuch a manner as to render it, perhaps, no eaſy abſtraction, to love the people of Ireland, diſtinctly from that which may be called the love of Ireland. Nothing of all this need be controverted; nor is it deſirable that it ſhould be otherwiſe—I would only demand a ſimilar aſſent to ſome particularities, which I think obſervable in this paſſion, and which appear to me to bear, in ſome degree, on the principal queſtion. This local patriotiſm, then, ſeems to be limited

ed not only by ſpace, as we have ſeen, but alſo with ſome reference to time. The ſpace to which the affection of patriotiſm attaches, is that which we have been accuſtomed to conſider as our country, at a given time, that is to ſay, in our own time, or during our own generation. If it had been larger or ſmaller at our birth, our love would have expanded or contracted itſelf accordingly. We have ſeen a remarkable inſtance of this expanſive property in local patriotiſm, or in this love of metes and bounds, as related by Mr. Hume, in the paſſage which I have read from his hiſtory of the Union of the Heptarchy. We have ſeen in that example, the inhabitants of the ſix conquered kingdoms transfer their allegiance to Egbert, and the minute partialities of theſe ſix countries, tranſgreſs their reſpective bounds, and in obedience to events, dilate, as by common conſent, ſo as to occupy the whole ſurface of the united kingdom of England, and accommodate themſelves to this change of boundary, with as much rapidity and eaſe, as the ambition of the Monarch himſelf had done to the growth of his dominions. This happened in the very ſeaſon of

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repugnance and diſguſt which ſucceeds to conqueſt, and a vanquiſhed Mercian or Eaſt Angle, ceaſed even in his own life, to think himſelf degraded by being called an Engliſhman.

The ſame truth has been evinced in Wales. Thoſe who inhabited that principality in the early part of the reign of Harry the 8th, felt their patriotiſm and national feelings bounded by the mountains of their country, beyond which, indeed, ſo far from diſcovering the objects of affection, they found only thoſe of antient animoſity and habitual hoſtility. The ſame narrow bounds, however, no longer limit the public ſpirit and affections of thoſe who have inhabited that part of our iſland ſince that memorable and fortunate æra in the hiſtory of Wales. I believe I may venture to ſay, that none of your Lordſhips who may have an intereſt in that country, and that no Welch gentleman, or inhabitant of Wales, would thank a Welch patriot who ſhould propoſe to reſtore the dignity and independence of that country, by ſeparating it once more from England; that is to ſay, who

ſhould

ſhould forbid and prohibit every Welchman, from preſuming to conſider himſelf as entitled to any participation in the affairs, in the enterprizes, in the greatneſs, conſideration, or glory of that empire, of which his country is now a diſtinguiſhed member. They would, no doubt, think the dignity of their countrymen ſtrangely provided for by this ſecond extermination; by driving them once more out of England, and cooping them up within the mountains of Wales, as the Saxon Conquerors had done by their Britiſh anceſtors. I ſhall not eaſily perſuade myſelf, that a Welch gentleman will think an affront or indignity is put upon himſelf, or his country, becauſe Lord NELSON, for example, can take him by the hand as fellow-ſubject; or becauſe his countryman *FOLEY was enabled, by the union of Wales, to lead the Britiſh fleet into action on the 1ſt of Auguſt, inſtead of heading ſome miſerable predatory inroad acroſs the Welch marches.

I may ſpeak with better authority of another country. Thoſe who inhabited Scotland in the reign of King William; thoſe who

* Captain Foley, of his Majeſty's ſhip Goliath.

inhabited that part of Scotland with which I am beſt acquainted, and who looked from their windows on the hills of Northumberland, at a few miles diſtance, had their patriotiſm bounded by their horizon, or rather their eye had a wider range than this large and liberal paſſion. It is not ſo with thoſe who inhabit that country in the reign of George the Third, and this change, I am perſuaded, was operated much ſooner than ſome Noble Lords ſeem diſpoſed to allow. A Noble Lord, (Lord Holland,) referred, on a former occaſion, to a proceeding of this Houſe in the year 1713, as furniſhing ſome ground to ſuppoſe that the two countries were not ſoon reconciled to the Union. I am by no means diſpoſed to deny, that the tranſaction alluded to, might furniſh a very fair argument to be uſed in debate on this topic. It certainly imported, in its literal acceptation, the wiſh, at leaſt of ſome individuals, for a diſſolution of the Union, being an expreſs motion for that purpoſe. It was negatived, indeed, by the Houſe; but it was made by one of the ſixteen Scotch Peers, and ſupported, generally, though I do not know that it was unanimouſly, by that body. I have

no

no reaſon to complain, therefore, of this proceeding being uſed in argument, to the point for which it was adduced; but I muſt ſay, at the ſame time, that it does not appear to me as concluſive, as I am to preſume it did to that Noble Lord. Your Lordſhips' leiſure will not admit of my entering minutely into all the particulars of this proceeding; but I muſt at leaſt ſay, that it has by no means made the ſame impreſſion on my mind, and I am not ſatisfied, that the people of Scotland or of England, or the Peerage of Scotland at large, or their repreſentatives in this Houſe who ſupported this motion, including even the mover of the queſtion himſelf, were in earneſt in deſiring the ſeparation of the united kingdoms. I do not think myſelf bound to believe merely on the letter of a motion in Parliament, any body of men, and eſpecially that enlightened body to which I allude, capable of harbouring a deſign ſo abſurd, and if ſincere, ſo wicked and deteſtable, as that motion imported, while I can find any other motive, or can imagine any other object more rational and leſs culpable, to account ſufficiently for the proceeding. I find then, no difficulty in diſ-

covering abundant inducements for this motion, ſhort of the abſurd and incredible purpoſe which it expreſſes—I obſerve, in the firſt place, that it was made in the Houſe of Lords, and originated with the ſixteen Peers of Scotland. The Scotch Peerage was undoubtedly the body whoſe intereſts were leaſt conſulted, and who were the worſt treated by the Union. But they had received freſh cauſe of complaint ſubſequent to that event. The abolition of the Privy Council of Scotland was, in my opinion, neceſſary to conſolidate the Union, by removing that remaining nucleus of a local government, and ſeparate intereſt. But this meaſure affected, no doubt, the views both of ambition and of vanity, of the Scotch Peerage and of the higher order of the gentry, though it very little concerned the people. The diſcontent of the Peerage excited by that meaſure, had been yet more recently enflamed by the deciſion of this Houſe in the caſe of the Duke of Hamilton. His patent, as Duke of Brandon, had been diſallowed, and by that proceeding it ſeemed decided, that a Scotch Peer, after the Union, ſhould be incapable of receiving the independent dignity of a Britiſh

Peerage;

Peerage; a diſability highly injurious to the Peerage of Scotland, in its fondeſt aim, and reaſonably offenſive and diſguſting to that body, already ſore with prior provocations. If we conſider this motion, then, as no more than the expreſſion of the chagrin of this body; but eſpecially if it be conſidered as a means employed to give weight in future to their juſt pretenſions, we ſhall aſſign as weighty a motive for ſuch a proceeding as has produced many others of great importance in Parliament. Theſe grievances were, indeed, expreſsly ſtated in the motion, amongſt the reaſons on which it was grounded. But the ſpecial occaſion of this tranſaction was the extenſion of the malt-tax to Scotland. This tax was, in fact, felt to be oppreſſive on that country, and it was, beſides, fairly queſtionable whether the impoſition of this tax at that particular point of time was not contrary to an article of the Union. This objection applied indeed only to that particular period, and ceaſed afterwards, but it was ſubject to queſtion at the time. I think on the whole that the Scotch members of both Houſes were juſtified in ſtanding out on this tax, and I think their Union and exertion on that occaſion

ſion did them honour, though I do not think the mode of oppoſition they choſe judicious. I find, however, in the very occaſion which gave riſe to this proceeding, a ſufficient motive, and a much more natural and indeed juſtifiable purpoſe than that which the motion literally imported. It was intended to enforce the oppoſition of Scotland to the malt-tax, and to coerce the Miniſter on that point, not by the diſſolution of the Union, but by the intimidation which the very menace of ſuch a fatal ſtep might be expected to produce. The Engliſh Peers who ſupported this motion had themſelves been the authors and promoters of the Union. But they were the oppoſition of the day, and it appears, could not deny themſelves the ſatisfaction of uſing the opportunity which this Scotch queſtion of the malt-tax afforded them, of diſtreſſing the Miniſter of the day, by the ſingular and rare union of the Repreſentatives of Scotland, even for a few hours, againſt the Court. It laſted, indeed, no longer; and the oppoſition of the ſixteen Peers ſeems to have ſpent and exhauſted itſelf in this ſingle act, in which I can diſcern only a general expreſſion of their own particular diſguſt, and a wiſh to ſtand well

with

with their country by oppoſing the malt-tax. The oppoſition to that tax, and the attempt at leaſt to modify it, as to Scotland, was the true occaſion of this motion, and inſtead of ſo abſurd and flagitious, but ſo important and momentous a deſign as that of diſſolving the Union, there appears to me to have been nothing deeper in the matter, than the wiſh on one hand to teaſe a Miniſter, and on the other to obtain the reduction of threepence on the buſhel of malt, in a tax upon Scotland. I am a good deal confirmed in this view of the tranſaction, by obſerving that although this tax was renewed every year, and was objected to by the Scotch members in the Houſe of Commons, I do not find a hint of any new intention to diſſolve the Union. Various other queſtions intereſting to Scotland were diſcuſſed, without producing the ſlighteſt intimation of ſuch a deſign; and I find one, very little poſterior to that on which the noble Lord has relied, ſo remarkable, that I cannot help mentioning it; I mean the extraordinary bill, known by the name of the Peerage Bill, which actually paſſed this Houſe in the year 1719, but was thrown out, as might be expected, in the Houſe of Commons.

Neither

Neither the Peerage of Scotland, nor the Scotch nation, have ever received, ſince the Union, ſo ſignal a provocation as that bill appears to me to have offered to them. It propoſed, in direct terms, the complete diſfranchiſement of the whole body of the Scotch Peers, and ſtripped them even of the elective franchiſe which the Union had left them, without any other compenſation worthy of notice, than that of ſeeing ſuch of their repreſentatives as were parties to this ſpoliation, rewarded by Britiſh Peerages, which were to make them independent in future, of the favour, or reſentment of their injured conſtituents. This meaſure, as your Lordſhips muſt ſee, was, at the ſame time, the moſt flagrant violation of the Union in ſome of its moſt fundamental articles, and could not fail of exciting general diſguſt and alarm throughout Scotland, by breaking ſo wantonly the integrity, and ſhaking the ſecurity of that ſolemn treaty. The Bill was accordingly debated with great warmth, at great length, and, I think, with much ability in both Houſes of Parliament; and I have troubled your Lordſhips with theſe particulars, for the purpoſe of obſerving, that throughout thoſe debates, on a ſubject ſufficiently

ently offenſive and irritating to Scotland, there was not dropped from the lips of a ſingle individual, an intimation of any ſuch wiſh for ſeparation, as had been expreſſed in the proceeding of the year 1713. A certain proof that ſuch a wiſh could not be general in either country, and a pretty concluſive argument that it was not profeſſed or entertained by any conſiderable party or deſcription of men then known in England or Scotland. On this review of the period immediately ſucceeding the Union, I might, without much prejudice to my argument, concede all the Noble Lord can claim from the motion of 1713, though I am far from making that admiſſion in fact; but if I were to grant that in the year 1713, ſome indications of indiſpoſition and alienation between the countries remained; that ſix ſhort years of Union had not completely appeaſed and obliterated the animoſities of four centuries, but that ſix years more had been ſufficient for that purpoſe; that after the lapſe of ſix years from their Union, no trace of unkindneſs was diſcernible, and, that in twelve years after that Union, the ſtrongeſt provocation had failed in exciting it, I do not think, I ſay, that for the purpoſe of the preſent argument, I

ſhall have made a conceſſion of much value or importance; and with this remark I ſhall paſs forward to times of which I am entitled to ſpeak with the confidence of perſonal knowledge. I will venture then to aſſure your Lordſhips, and to ſpeak for my neighbours as well as myſelf, that at this day we ſee without humiliation or regret, thoſe towers and beacons, which were very neceſſary appendages of our independence, at leaſt, before the union of the crowns; when we had a predatory enemy within ten miles of us; we behold, I ſay, without mortification or concern, thoſe badges of imperial dignity mouldering, and in ruins, on our rocks, while we can ſee the plains below covered with crops, which he who ſows is now ſure of reaping; and while we can extend our views of national greatneſs and dignity, and all our public feelings, whether of pride or of affection, not only beyond the little range of hills that we look upon, but to the remoteſt extremities of the habitable globe. I will venture to declare for my country, that with the exception of thoſe falſe Scotchmen, whom the enemy has been able to corrupt or to delude, and who, I truſt, for the honour of Scotland, are both few and contemptible; but with that

exception

exception of the partizans of France, I will venture to pronounce, that there does not at this hour live a Scotchman of any degree or condition, from Berwick to the Orkneys, whose Britiſh patriotiſm would not be more offended, and certainly much more reaſonably, by a propoſal for ſeparating theſe kingdoms, than the patriotiſm of Fletcher of Saltown, or Lockhart of Carnwath, could be at the beginning of the century, by the propoſal for uniting them.

I have dwelt ſomewhat longer on this topic than, perhaps, I ought, principally for the purpoſe of ſhewing what the nature and value of that object is, for which Ireland has been perſuaded to renounce and reject with anger, the greateſt and moſt evident advantages that were ever offered to a nation. It is in the firſt place, then, a ſentiment, or feeling, which it is difficult to define, and not perhaps eaſy even to conceive diſtinctly. In the next place, this ſentiment, ſuch as it is, is ſo limited in duration, and ſo obſequious to events, that it is not enough to ſay that it expires. It actually changes ſides—and the very ſacrifices we would make to it at one period, will, at a ſub-

ſequent point of time, and from thence ever after, prove as much in contradiction with, and as offenſive to, this very feeling, as it might be welcome and grateful to it before. What then is this mighty object to which ſuch ſacrifices are required? It is an airy unſubſtantial ſentiment; it is a tranſient, evaneſcent, metaphyſical point, to which we are called upon to ſacrifice not only the ſolid and ſubſtantial, but the permanent and perpetual intereſts of two great nations.

I confeſs I cannot perſuade myſelf to rank a ſentiment ſo ſubtle, and ſubject to ſo many refined and delicate modifications, with that ſound and genuine affection, or I can claſs it only as a ſubordinate mode of that plain and manly paſſion, which has deſerved, by excellence, the ſtyle and dignity of patriotiſm. True patriotiſm will, I think, be found to reſt on the ſolid baſis of ſome rational and uſeful principle, which will keep it uniform and uninfluenced by time or circumſtance, and which may ſerve as a criterion to diſtinguiſh its own genuine and ſteady courſe, from the capricious and irregular motions of ſome of its many counterfeits. The love of our country may be

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rational or fantaſtical as that of any other object; and, I muſt conſider patriotiſm as partaking ſufficiently of the nature of general affection, to acknowledge it for genuine, only when it is evinced by ſolicitude for the welfare of its object. I fix on this as the diſtinctive character of ſincere affection, whether for our country or for any other object of regard. Public love is founded in utility, and by that mark alone may challenge its deſcent from Heaven. The reſt is all ſpurious, and to be viewed rather with caution than reſpect. On this clear principle, then, ſhall we not ſay, that a true patriot propoſes to himſelf before all things, the proſperity and happineſs of thoſe who inhabit his country? He may ſet a value, if he pleaſes, on the diſtinct exiſtence, and individuality of that country; but if his love be well regulated, and all its modes and affections be in due ſubordination, he will prefer the ſolid and real happineſs of his country to its metaphyſical identity. It is to this chaſte and diſciplined patriotiſm, that I would appeal, on the preſent queſtion, againſt the noiſy and clamorous pretence, which would uſurp its ſeat, and bear away the deciſion by acclamation and tumult, before a ſober and enlightened judgment, founded

founded on the ſolid baſis of public utility, can ſilence this importunate and deluſive feeling. To ſum up my argument on this point, in plain, but I think, ſatisfactory terms; if a ſeparate political exiſtence is contrary, nay fatal to the real intereſts of the people of Ireland; and if a perfect incorporation and union with the Britiſh Empire, muſt be productive of ſecurity, aggrandizement and happineſs to Ireland, ſuch an Union ſhould on this ſingle but deciſive ground, of great and permanent utility, be the firſt and fondeſt wiſh of every Iriſh heart.

But let us yield even this principle for a moment. Let us ſubſcribe to that ſtrange incomprehenſible duty which I have heard proclaimed with a ſort of triumph, even in this Houſe, and by which it is required that in a queſtion ſuch as this, the Legiſlature ſhould baniſh from their thoughts and contemplation every concern for the intereſts of the nations which they repreſent, and that the deciſion of this mighty queſtion ſhould be founded on any thing but its influence on the national advantage or ſecurity. Let us admit the inſignificance of Iriſh proſperity and happineſs, and the excluſive title of what is called diſtinctneſs and dignity, to

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our ſolicitude; I ſtill ſay that even theſe objects are not provided for, by rejecting the preſent meaſure. For the choice does not lie between the preſent condition of Ireland and Union. We are not ignorant that the alternative is according to every moral probability, union or ſeparation; that is to ſay union or ruin; union with Great Britain, or ſlavery to France. If this meaſure be not adopted, we know that the diſtinctneſs of Ireland muſt expire; that her political extinction muſt be accompliſhed; that ſhe muſt undergo a change a thouſand fold more degrading, as well as deſtructive, and more fatal to her independence and dignity, by means which no miſtaken patriotiſm can prefer. I mean by ſubjection to a foreign conqueror, or at beſt by a debaſed and ſlaviſh dependence on the general tyrant and taſk-maſter of Europe. Inſtead of preſerving her preſent independence, or acquiring new acceſſion of importance and dignity, by her aſſociation with the Britiſh Empire, Ireland is in danger of dropping into that common ſepulchre of nations, which has already buried the very names and memories of ſo many ſtates and kingdoms, now no more. Will the identity or the dignity of Ireland be

preſerved,

preſerved, when after being firſt the dupe and the ſervile tool of France, ſhe becomes her real and effectual ſlave, under ſome ridiculous or antiquated nick-name, invented or revived, for the very purpoſe of obliterating her own?

Let us conſider this queſtion in one view more, and ſetting aſide both the real intereſts of Ireland, and the chances of ſeparation with its attendant calamities, let us only compare the preſent condition of Ireland in mere dignity, with its future condition, in that ſingle reſpect, after the Union; for we ſhall find the oppoſers of the Union miſtaken in the means of conſulting even barren dignity, when they prefer the preſent ſituation of Ireland to its incorporation with the Britiſh Empire.

In what does the dignity of a nation truly conſiſt? Is it merely in its *ſeparate*, or in its *independent* exiſtence? If Ireland, from the very nature of things, is, and always muſt, while it is a ſeparate kingdom, remain, in ſome reſpects and in ſome degree, dependent, ſubordinate, inferior; and the day after its Union with Great Britain, becomes altogether independent, ſovereign and equal, how is its dignity

nity better assured by the former condition than by the latter? We must enquire then what the present situation of Ireland truly is, in point of independence

Although I should wish to be perfectly frank and explicit, in pointing out those circumstances of necessary and unavoidable subordination which really exist, I would by no means insist on others, which I have heard enlarged upon, I think, with a false pride on our part, and perhaps with reasonable offence to the national feeling of Irishmen, and which, at the same time, do not appear to me genuine tokens of subordination in any respect. Of this description, I consider the necessity under which Ireland labours of claiming, in times of danger, whether from foreign or domestic enemies, the protection of the British navy, and military, as well as pecuniary aid from this country. I conceive Ireland to have a perfect right to this friendly and brotherly co-operation, on two grounds, which seem to me to preclude altogether, either a mortifying humiliation on one hand, or an offensive pride on the other. First, the preservation of Ireland is an English interest, and is a concern sufficiently

ently precious to call for theſe exertions, even on a diſtinct and ſeparate view of our own advantage. In the next place, Ireland is entitled to this ſupport, from an Empire to which ſhe is aſſociated, and to the general ſervice and ſecurity of which ſhe is herſelf contributing, cheerfully, and at all times, in every branch of public ſervice. Her ſeamen, her ſoldiers, and her revenue, all augment the general ſtock of Britiſh reſources. And if peculiar and temporary emergencies have, at this, or any other particular period, encreaſed the local demands of Ireland on the exertions of the Empire, we muſt recollect, that the ſcene of danger, may at other times be ſhifted; and we have no reaſon to doubt, but, on the contrary, have recent grounds, very honourable to Ireland, for believing, that ſhe will be ready to furniſh extraordinary exertion, and aid, to repel extraordinary danger on this ſide of the water, if ſuch occaſions ſhould ariſe.

I muſt alſo diſſent from another topic which I have heard uſed, as indicating a national dependence of Ireland on Great Britain. I mean the advantages which ſhe derives from the extenſive commerce without, and the proſperous manu-

manufactures within, which are ſuppoſed to flow, and which, I believe, really do flow, in a great part, from a free participation in the imperial greatneſs of Great Britain, and from encouragements which ſhe might withhold if ſo adviſed. Here again, I think, Ireland may accept, I will not ſay, without gratitude, but without humiliation, as Great Britain ought to beſtow without pride. When the queſtion has been ſtated between entire ſeparation and Union, theſe conſiderations are very pertinently ſubmitted to the prudence of Ireland, as they have been, with great ability, by the Noble Lord * who preceded me; for the advantages alluded to, would, no doubt, be withdrawn with perfect juſtice, and indeed, by indiſpenſible policy, if all connexion between us were diſſolved. But when the queſtion is placed on the footing of the preſent argument, that is to ſay, on a view of our preſent imperial relation, I then feel, that conſidering the importance of that relation to Great Britain, as well as to Ireland, the communication of theſe imperial advantages ſeems to belong to the very nature of the caſe, and to flow naturally from the

* Lord Auckland.

ſentiment of fraternity and reciprocal kindneſs which ſhould accompany ſuch a connexion. Theſe favours ſeem to be prompted certainly by a liberal, but at the ſame time, by a wiſe policy; they are the gifts of an elder to a younger brother; not the wages paid by a ſuperior to a dependant. They ought to excite gratitude, and to improve as well as to ſecure affection between us; but they need not either exalt the pride of one, or humble that of the other; and, to ſay the truth, I cannot help feeling that the pride of Ireland may be very well reconciled to an obligation, for which ſhe has the conſciouſneſs of returning in the reciprocal bleſſings of imperial connexion, an ample and correſponding equivalent. I eraze, therefore, ſuch topics as theſe, from my argument of Iriſh ſubordination. They appear to me not more inconcluſive to that point, than ſomewhat removed, perhaps, from that liberality which ought to characterize ſuch diſcuſſions, whether between individuals or nations; and if theſe obligations of Ireland to Great Britain are ever enlarged upon, I confeſs I ſhould ſee it with more pleaſure in Ireland, than in this country.

Thoſe

Thoſe real indications of ſubordination, on which I mean however to rely, appear to me ſuch as ought not to mortify Ireland; becauſe they are derived from the very nature and conſtitution of human affairs, and eſpecially from one cauſe, which muſt afford, I conceive, rather gratification than diſguſt to national feeling, I mean the imperial connexion which makes Ireland a member of the nobleſt empire of the globe. For what, after all, is this imperial connexion in the neceſſity of which we are all agreed? If it be any thing more than a name, and if it afford any ſubſtantial advantage, does it not conſiſt in ſecuring a conformity, or rather a perfect uniformity and unity, in the counſels of the two countries on affairs of imperial concern? Such are, in ſome reſpects the regulation of commerce; the tranſactions and intercourſe with foreign ſtates; the declaration of war; the conduct and direction of war; the negociation and conditions of peace. Theſe are the principal, if not all the points of imperial or common concern; and in theſe it is admitted, and it is manifeſt that, for common ſafety and advantage, the two countries muſt be governed by one mind, and directed by one will, to the ſame end. Now

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let me aſk in what manner is uniformity to be enſured on points ſo much ſubject to doubt in themſelves, ſubmitted to a judgment, I mean that of the human mind, the variety and uncertainty of which is proverbial, and eſpecially where ſome degree of temporary and occaſional oppoſition, both of feeling and intereſt, may be looked for in particular ſeaſons and circumſtances—I need not go about to prove by any tedious argument, what is always conceded on this point, nor need I ſcruple to aſſert what the beſt Iriſh patriots, and warmeſt partizans of Iriſh independence have always freely acknowledged, that unity of counſels can be brought about and preſerved, only by leaving the lead to one of theſe nations in thoſe points on which it is neceſſary that they ſhould agree. Every ſenſible and enlightened Iriſh ſtateſman, has, I think, admitted that in imperial concerns, Ireland muſt, and ought to follow in the wake of Great Britain. Here then is one authentic and ſignal badge of real ſubordination. But how is this neceſſary acquieſcence of Ireland to be enſured? For it ſtands as yet on diſcretion and prudence, not on poſitive proviſion. May not an interval of paſſion, or the ſpleen of ſome contentious moment, or the influence of ſome popular

popular leader, perſuade Ireland, in an evil hour, to aſſert her right of ſeparate and independent deliberation in the common concerns, and to vindicate that right, by ſetting up an opinion of her own, different from that adopted in England? Againſt this misfortune, which would otherwiſe be pretty ſure of happening, the conſtitution of our connexion with Ireland has provided ſome ſecurities. In the firſt place we have the ſame King. The King of Great Britain is, in virtue of that crown, King alſo of Ireland. Ireland is content to follow the fortunes of England in that great point; and this I ſtate as another circumſtance of dependence. But there are other ſtill more ſenſible tokens of practical ſubordination—The whole executive government of Ireland is adminiſtered by a viceroy, appointed indeed by the Sovereign of Ireland, but not with the advice of an Iriſh cabinet. He is appointed, in effect, by a Britiſh Miniſter, he is ſubject to inſtructions from a Britiſh Secretary of State, and reſponſible for every part of his adminiſtration municipal as well as imperial, not to the Iriſh Parliament, not to the Iriſh Laws, but to the Britiſh Parliament and its high tribunals. Even this is not all; for all this may be thought inſepa-

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rable from the nature and frame of our connexion. There remains a point which was not so much the unavoidable consequence of the imperial constitution, but was thought subject to such a moral and political necessity, as to have been deliberately assented to and retained by the most enlightened and ardent patriots of Ireland, even in the jealous review of her constitution, which took place at that period of enthusiasm and triumph which is become the grand æra of Irish freedom and pride, I mean the year 1782. The circumstance I now allude to is this. The legislative functions of the sovereign of Ireland can be performed only under the Great Seal, not of Ireland, but of Great Britain. Notwithstanding the extreme and jealous tenderness of the Irish nation, on all that could remotely, or even in the refinements of political subtlety, affect the independence of their Parliament; although that Parliament is the shrine on which the nation itself is, it seems, now to be laid a victim; that Irish Parliament was left, and remains at this hour, dependent for the validity of every one of its legislative acts, first on the Chancellor of England, and through his responsibility, on that very Parliament of

England,

England, an equal participation in the authority of which is thought ſo degrading to Ireland. God forbid that Ireland ſhould change her mind on theſe points of voluntary ſubordination, or that her pride ſhould ſuperſede her wiſdom, and a falſe dignity take the place of her ſubſtantial intereſts at leaſt in theſe particulars. For ſuch are the few ſlender threads which yet hold together theſe ponderous bodies, and whenever they are broken we part for good. There is yet one other circumſtance which not only indicates inferiority, but is ſo wholly irreconcileable with every notion of equality, and appears to me ſuch a ſingularity in the condition of any country claiming the character of independent ſovereignty, that I muſt add it to the liſt before I quit this topic. Ireland muſt take her part in all the wars of Great Britain. She muſt bear her ſhare of their burthens, and incur all their hazards. She may loſe a province, or may become herſelf a province of the enemy. Yet Ireland cannot, by the utmoſt ſucceſs of the war, acquire an acre of new territory to the Iriſh dominion. Every acquiſition made by the forces of the Empire, however great her ſhare may have been in the danger or exertion, accrues

to the Crown of Great Britain. If an iſland were taken by regiments raiſed in Ireland, and compoſed wholly of Iriſhmen, and by ſhips manned altogether by Iriſh ſeamen, that iſland is a Britiſh conqueſt and not an Iriſh one. Ireland claims no ſovereignty in any one of the foreign poſſeſſions or provinces of the Britiſh Empire. She pretends to no dominion in India, in Ceylon, at the Cape of Good Hope, at Martinique, Trinidad, or Minorca. The Iriſh Parliament has never aſſerted or conceived the right of legiſlating for any of the conqueſts of the King of England, that is to ſay, of the King of Ireland. They are all ſubject *ipſo facto*, to the Legiſlature of Great Britain. Ireland has planted no Iriſh colonies, but has furniſhed planters to all thoſe of Great Britain. In a word, this whole claſs of ſovereign rights and capacities, however inherent in the very nature of ſovereignty, is wholly wanting in that of Ireland. If we were aſked to define, or at leaſt to deſcribe an independent ſovereignty, ſhould we err much by ſaying, it is a ſtate which can make war and peace, which can acquire dominion by conqueſt, and which can plant colonies, and eſtabliſh foreign ſettlements? And if we would deſcribe a ſubordinate

nate and dependent country, could we do it better than by ſaying, it is a country which muſt contribute her quota to all the wars of a neighbouring kingdom, muſt incur all the riſks of thoſe wars and partake in all their diſaſters; while all that is acquired by their ſucceſs falls, like the lion's ſhare, to that country with which it claims to be co-ordinate and coequal. I will inſiſt no further on this ungracious topic. What I have ſaid, was neceſſary for my argument, and if I have demonſtrated the real ſubordination of Ireland, it was certainly not for the diſingenuous pleaſure of gratifying the vanity of one nation, at the expence of another, but only to obſerve that ſubordination muſt be the conſtant companion of an imperial connexion with a more powerful and more conſiderable ſtate, and that pride can fly only to one of two remedies; I mean, total and abſolute ſeparation, or a perfect, incorporating and equalizing Union.

This argument is often conducted as if the queſtion lay between diſtinct exiſtence and total extinction. This is a falſe view of the alternative. If Ireland foregoes her ſeparate individuality, it is not to periſh; but ſtill preſerving

ing in full life and vigour, her own exiſtence, ſhe becomes identified with a larger whole; and ſo far from the pretended annihilation with which our adverſaries would alarm her, ſhe appears to me to acquire new extenſion. I would aſk, in what manner is an inhabitant of any province or county of Ireland degraded, when he is enabled to ſay that he is an Iriſhman, and that he is beſides a citizen of the united empire of Great Britain and Ireland; and when inſtead of admiſſion, as it were, by courteſy, to an indirect and circuitous advantage from the greatneſs of another country, to which he himſelf claims to be in ſome ſort a ſtranger, he can aſſert as clear a title and as poſitive ownerſhip and property in the glory and proſperity of the empire to which he will belong, as any native of Great Britain can do at this moment? I cannot better deſcribe the condition of Ireland after the Union, or better illuſtrate the improvement of its independence and dignity, than by ſaying, that her ſituation will from that moment be preciſely the ſame in all points with that of Great Britain herſelf. Unleſs we ſuppoſe, therefore, Ireland in her preſent ſituation, more independent and leſs ſubordinate than Great Britain, we cannot imagine

gine that her independence will be diminiſhed by the Union. And if it be true, as we have ſhewn, that ſhe is at preſent, dependent, and ſubordinate to Great Britain in many reſpects, it is clear, that a Union which ſhall have the effect of placing the two countries on a footing of perfect equality, muſt improve the independence and dignity of the inferior, that is to ſay, of Ireland. Is Ireland then annihilated by theſe means? No; Ireland is ſtill Ireland, while a new ſcope is given to the pride, and a larger field opened to the patriotiſm of every Iriſhman. Let me aſk, in fine, where we ſhall diſcover in the preſent condition of Ireland, that ſuperior degree of independent dignity, which ſhould outweigh the real and ſolid benefits of Union; or where we can perceive in the change which that Union will operate on the political ſituation of Ireland, the degradation and indignity which ſhould forbid her even to deliberate, and raiſe an inſuperable barrier, both to her aggrandizement and happineſs?

I do conceive, indeed, how the ſituation of ſome individuals may be ſuch as to afford a greater ſhare of perſonal conſideration or advantage

vantage in Ireland, while confined within its preſent limits, than they might obtain on the greater theatre of the united kingdoms. Even here, indeed, the computation may be fallacious; but however that queſtion may ſtand with regard to individuals, I am ſure that the inhabitants of Ireland will gratify a ſound love of national dignity, while they procure to their country unſpeakable advantages of every other ſort, by their acceſſion to the noble empire of which the Union would make them citizens.

I muſt therefore conclude, that although I muſt reſpect the feelings of thoſe who, following this inſtinct of national pride, which I have allowed to be in ſome ſort natural, have been blinded to the true merits of this queſtion, either as it regards the intereſts or the dignity of their country; and, although I cannot refuſe a conſiderable degree of indulgence, even to the intemperance and violence excited by any form of patriotiſm, and even by its errors; yet I muſt perſiſt in ſaying, that thoſe will ever appear to me to have evinced a more genuine, a more profound and ſolicitous affection for their country, who have not refuſed to deliberate

liberate on ſuch mighty intereſts, but have reſiſted a firſt and falſe impulſe, and choſen for their guide rather the ſlower and leſs captivating torch of reaſon, than the more lively flaſhes of paſſion and prejudice. Nor can I refrain from adding, that if there be indeed any individuals, or deſcriptions of men, who not miſled themſelves, but far above the influenee of thoſe deluſions which they have practiſed upon the multitude, have ſeen nothing in this great queſtion but perſonal or local intereſts, and have ſought to maſk a narrow preference of individual and partial advantage, under this pretence of national pride and feeling; if ſuch men, I ſay, with theſe motives at the bottom of their hearts, and with the profanation of a great public virtue on their lips, have fruſtrated the wiſe and paternal counſel given by our common Sovereign for the permanent and perpetual benefit, and not leſs for the preſent and immediate preſervation of the empire in all its parts, and eſpecially of their own particular country; I own I cannot part with this ſubject, without declaring loudly, that I envy, neither the pillows and conſciences of thoſe men, nor the place they are likely to fill in the hiſtory of their country.

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There is yet one objection on which I am diſpoſed to treſpaſs on your Lordſhip's indulgence, rather from the importance which has been given to it by thoſe who oppoſe the Union, than from any weight I think it entitled to myſelf. The point I now allude to, is a ſuppoſed diſability in the reſpective Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland to ſanction ſuch a meaſure.

This is another objection on which the merits of the main queſtion are waved, and in which thoſe who have been defeated on that ground, or who are conſcious that they muſt be ſo, would ſtill take refuge. It reſembles a plea to the juriſdiction; and, although I am farfrom aſſenting to a very abſurd doctrine which I have heard falſely aſcribed to our law, that he who pleads to the juriſdiction ſhall abide by that plea; and when it has been over-ruled ſhall not plead over, but be concluded on the facts and merits of his cauſe; yet I think myſelf entitled to claim thus much from thoſe who reſort to this objection. That, although after it has been over-ruled, and the juriſdiction of Parliament has been eſtabliſhed, they ſhall be at liberty to recur back to the queſtion

queſtion of expediency; yet, while we are diſcuſſing the queſtion of competence, and for the purpoſe of that argument, the merits ſhall be granted. The objection cannot otherwiſe be placed on its own proper and peculiar ground. For, if the competence of Parliament were diſputed merely on the ground of inexpediency in the particular act, it muſt be felt in a moment that the queſtion of competence with regard to the Union, would ſtand exactly on the ſame footing as if it related to any other legiſlative meaſure, however clearly within the acknowledged powers and daily practice of Parliament. In order to obtain, therefore, a diſtinct and ſubſtantive judgment on the queſtion of competence, it muſt be kept pure; and uncomplicated with any other conſideration; which can only be done by trying it in a caſe of admitted expediency. I think myſelf entitled, then, for the purpoſe of this argument, to aſſume, that the propoſed Union would be beneficial to both countries, and I am at liberty to ſtate its advantages, or its neceſſity as high as I pleaſe. In a word, my adverſary in this argument muſt aſſent to the meaſure as expedient and neceſſary, denying, only, the authority of Parliament to execute it.

Now, if a meaſure be expedient, I am to aſk, in the firſt place, why may it not be executed by Parliament? and, in the next place, if Parliament is not competent, where ſhall we find a more adequate authority? I have, for me, the general rule and law of the Conſtitution, which eſtabliſhes the univerſal authority of the Legiſlature, and defines it by no limits or qualification that I am acquainted with. Whatever the whole nation could do, if there were no Parliament, is within the regular and fundamental powers of Parliament. This is admitted to be the general rule; and here I might plant my foot, at leaſt until the exception were ſpecified, and the principle of that exception eſtabliſhed. The univerſality of Parliamentary power has been characterized by the ſtrong and emphatic title of Omnipotence. And, in the theory of our Conſtitution, ſtrong and emphatic as this phraſe is, it need not, I think, be deemed, merely a bold figure, as it has been called by ſome writers on our Government, but as literally and correctly deſcriptive of parliamentary ſupremacy, and of the unlimited ſovereignty of the Britiſh Legiſlature.

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I am aware of the reply generally made to this aſſertion of unlimited power. I may be told, that powers unlimited in theory, are yet finite and controuled in practice, and that, in its exerciſe, the moſt unbounded authority is ſtill circumſcribed, at leaſt within the moral boundaries of right and wrong. I aſſent to this reſtriction, and even aſſert it; but what does my adverſary gain by this conceſſion? Parliament ought not to do what is wrong, and is to be ſuppoſed incapable of doing it. In this ſenſe, the power of Parliament, is no more limited than the Divine Omnipotence itſelf, which is incapable of evil. I ſay alſo of Parliament, that it is incapable of evil; and I ſay it in this ſenſe, that what Parliament does is not to be accounted evil, but is to be taken and acquieſced in as right—Why? will it be ſaid. Is not Parliament compoſed of men, and therefore fallible? Yes—but who muſt judge the fallibility of Parliament, and to whom muſt its queſtionable acts be ſubmitted—if it be not to other men, yet more fallible than themſelves? For I wiſh to know where men are to be found, or in what forms or combinations they are to be aſſembled, to whom

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ſuch a ſuperlative authority could with ſafety be confided.

The more we turn this argument, and the more carefully it is viewed on all its ſides and bearings, the more we ſhall be ſatisfied, that the only ſecurity we poſſeſs for every thing valuable in the Britiſh Government; that all that conduces to order and happineſs; that the whole efficacy of our Conſtitution towards its great and beneficial purpoſes, reſides in this ſingle principle, of the unlimited, unqualified, ſupremacy of Parliament. There is no appeal, acknowledged in the Conſtitution, from that authority, becauſe no appellate tribunal can be imagined, habile to ſuch a juriſdiction; none from which the wiſdom of thoſe many ages, which have brought our Conſtitution to maturity and excellence, has not already conſtituted an appeal, final and concluſive in all caſes whatever, to that very Parliament, from which you would, again, appeal back to them. Obſerve the vicious circle into which this appeal from the Parliament to the People muſt lead us. The people at large cannot conveniently, nor ſafely for themſelves, make law, or adminiſter

adminiſter Government. The Conſtitution of Parliament has therefore been framed, as affording the moſt commodious and perfect organ of Law and Government, and the beſt and moſt ſecure depoſitary of the ſovereign authority. But their acts muſt, it ſeems, be queſtioned, and their authority ſuperſeded by that very people at large, whoſe inability and unaptneſs have given occaſion to the inſtitution of Parliament. The ſpeedy reſolution of the argument into this contradiction and abſurdity, is, therefore, manifeſt.

It is eaſy to foreſee that this claim of unlimited power may be oppoſed by the counter-claim of a right to reſiſt an abuſe and perverſion of authority, however legal. This queſtion of reſiſtance, that is to ſay, concerning the right of the ſubject to oppoſe by force, the act or orders of the legal ſovereign, by which your Lordſhips know, I ſhould not mean, in this country merely the throne, but that I ſpeak of that body in which the full ſovereignty of any nation reſides, according to the eſtabliſhed Conſtitution of its Government, and which, with reference to this kingdom, would be the Parliament; the point, I ſay, thus explained,

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of reſiſtance, at the diſcretion of the ſubject, to the legal ſovereign, is of no trivial concern, and ought not to be raſhly or irreverently approached. The queſtion is of high import, and delicate complexion. It appears to me, to be one of thoſe myſteries, the acknowledgment of which is much connected with its recluſe ſanctity, and its being withdrawn from daily and vulgar contemplation, to be reſerved only for the great occaſions which are worthy to draw it forth, and, "*like a robe pontifical,* "*—ne'er to be ſeen, but wondered at.*" I believe it is impoſſible that any thing better ſhould be ſaid on this ſubject, than what I find quoted by an eloquent patriot of my own country, Mr. Fletcher, of Saltown, from the mouth of Mr. William Colvin, whom he ſtiles one of the wiſeſt men Scotland ever had, and who, ſpeaking of defenſive arms, that is to ſay, the right of the ſubject to carry arms, for the purpoſe of reſiſting oppreſſion from the Sovereign, was uſed to expreſs himſelf in theſe remarkable words: "That it were to be wiſhed "all Princes thought them lawful, and the "People unlawful. No wiſh can be more ſalutary, and no anſwer to this delicate and important queſtion can be more perfectly wiſe

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as well as diſcreet. I confeſs, alſo, that on this ſingle ſubject, I do not like the ſolution the worſe for being ſomewhat oracular.—But if a peremptory opinion be demanded, and we muſt needs pronounce, I think myſelf entitled to anſwer generally in the language of the conſtitution. No limit has been appointed to the authority of the ſovereign; nor any exception ſpecified to the obedience of the ſubject. The conſtitution has not foreſeen any caſe of reſiſtance, and has made no proviſion for it. Such a caſe is not, and cannot be, in the contemplation of any conſtitution whatever. A pre-eſtabliſhed, that is to ſay, a conſtitutional right of reſiſtance to the conſtitutional ſovereign is a ſoleciſm; a mere contradiction in terms. It can exiſt in no conſtitution that either is, or ever was, becauſe it is inconſiſtent with the very notion of conſtitution, or government. We muſt anſwer, then, that reſiſtance is illegal, and is contrary to the law, in every form of government of which law is the foundation. If an extreme caſe be put to me, I may well refuſe to anſwer it, until the caſe ariſe in practice. Stated theoretically, it is always a ſnare. When it happens practically the caſe will anſwer for itſelf; and

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if reſiſtance would not follow on the ſpur of any provocation that can be ſtated, without the previous ſanction of ſome declared, and anticipated authorization in the conſtitution to legalize it, it is a caſe which we may pronounce, by that very criterion, unfit to produce or juſtify reſiſtance. Every caſe of reſiſtance muſt ſtand as it were upon its own individual reſponſibility, and muſt be ſuch as to provide for itſelf, without the aid of any antecedent principle to lean upon. Such caſes, whatever may be ſaid of them by hiſtory, whatever may be felt of them by the generous ſympathies of mankind, muſt look for no ſupport from law, with which they cannot coexiſt; they are all without the pale of law and all illegal; they are all extra-conſtitutional; all in direct contradiction with the particular conſtitution, as well as with the general principle of government; they are mere ſolitary, inſulated, ſubſtantive facts, equally incapable of deriving from, or generating any binding analogy of general and permanent authority. Theſe queſtions are not new in this country. We have paſſed through a century of ſuch controverſies, and have, ſince that period, enjoyed a century more of happineſs, the fruit of the

the wiſe and profound, as well as ſpirited judgment of our anceſtors on theſe debates; a judgment, as your Lordſhips know, equally removed, on one hand, from a mean and puſillanimous acquieſcence under oppreſſion, and on the other from thoſe ſhallow but ruinous abſtractions which ſo much pains are taken to bring once more into faſhion. We do not come, therefore, in England, ſo raw into theſe diſcuſſions, as to be miſled by the juvenile refinements of political metaphyſics, or by the early puerilities of thoſe who may have read their Locke without reading hiſtory, or who in reading their Locke have forgot their hiſtory, into errors, which we know to be as fatal to the practical bleſſings of liberty, as to the ſtrength and ſtability of government. We know that an eſtabliſhed ſyſtem and theory of reſiſtance is but another word for anarchy; and that, whatever be the excellence of any conſtitution in other reſpects, however wiſely and ſkilfully conſtructed it may be, even for ſtability, in its other proviſions, let there be added this one principle of a permanent and ſubſiſting right to reſiſt, even in the moſt limited caſe, ſince the exiſtence of that caſe muſt, by the very nature of the thing, be ſubmitted to

the diſcretion of every individual in the ſtate, that conſtitution will bear in its boſom the ſeed of its own diſſolution, and a principle of diſperſion and demolition, utterly irreconcileable with the tranquillity or peace of the people, and deſtructive of all tenacity and duration in the government.

But it will be ſaid, this is not a queſtion of reſiſtance, and we are enquiring only whether this meaſure does not exceed the limits of that authority with which the conſtitution has inveſted Parliament.

I am then, to aſk, ſince the power of Parliament is general and undefined, in what reſpect is this particular act diſtinguiſhable from others which are admitted to be within its competence, in ſuch a manner as to become an exception to the general rule of the conſtitution. And here I am under the difficulty of thoſe who are to combat without an adverſary, or to combat an adverſary whom they cannct ſee. I am to ſearch for my opponent, or muſt begin by creating the enemy whom I am afterwards to engage. For as yet I have certainly heard nothing preciſe on this ſubject.

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I muſt, therefore, look amongſt the diſtinctive qualities of this meaſure, for ſome circumſtance on which to found the exception. The firſt circumſtance I obſerve in the Union of two countries, is an extenſion of territory, compared with the former bounds and ſurface of each, ſince each is reſpectively augmented by the acceſſion of the other. But this effect of Union cannot be a ground of diſqualification to Parliament, ſince the conſtitution commits the ſame power to a narrower authority. I mean the prerogative of the Crown alone. If a conqueſt be made without any contrary ſtipulation, the conquered country becomes ſubject, *ipſo facto*, to the Legiſlation of Parliament. The King may alſo obtain by treaty the annexation of any new territory to his Crown, by which means it will fall, of courſe, under the Government of the Britiſh Parliament. In both theſe ways the dominion of Great Britain can be enlarged, to any extent, by the ſole prerogative of the Crown—and much more by the King in Parliament. We muſt look, then, for ſome other circumſtance in this caſe to exclude the general authority of Parliament.

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Beſides extending the bounds of the kingdom, at preſent ſubject to the ſovereignty of Parliament, a Legiſlative Union extends and enlarges Parliament itſelf, accommodating the ſize of the Legiſlature to the acceſſion of territory. It amounts then to an alteration in the frame and condition of Parliament; and we are to enquire whether Parliament is, on that account, diſqualified from performing it.

It may be worth while to remark, in the firſt place, that this formal change is however conſonant with the general ſpirit and genius of the Conſtitution. Is it not fair, while we are diſcuſſing the conditions under which two countries are to be united, to conſider what would have been the caſe if they had been one from the beginning? Would not Ireland, in that caſe, have had repreſentatives in the Legiſlature? It would not be difficult to ſhew from hiſtory, that while Ireland was conſidered as excluſively under the Government of the Engliſh Parliament, that is to ſay, before the inſtitution of the Iriſh Parliament, that country ſent members to the Parliament of England. The ſame principle has generally, though

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I do not ſay without exception, operated in ſimilar caſes, I mean in caſes of the acceſſion of contiguous territories. Of this, Wales, the Counties Palatine, and Scotland, are familiar examples. The minor inſtances of Calais, and Berwick on Tweed, may have been leſs attended to, but they illuſtrate alſo this general propenſity of our Conſtitution. While Calais was ſubject to the Crown of England, that town enjoyed and exerciſed, by charter from Harry the Eighth, the privilege of ſending two burgeſſes to Parliament. And as ſoon as Berwick on Tweed, which being a frontier town, frequently changed maſters according to the various fortune of war, was at length ſettled under the dominion of England, by the union of both Crowns, and the final extinction of war, at the acceſſion of James the Firſt, that town received alſo the franchiſe of returning members to Parliament. The Conſtitution, in a word, leans that way: and it may, perhaps, reaſonably be thought a greater violence to that Conſtitution, and a more fundamental and eſſential change, to add extenſive territories to the country already governed by Parliament, without giving to thoſe territories a participation in the Conſtitution, and a ſhare in the

the repreſentation, than to accompany ſuch an acceſſion of territory with a legiſlative as well as an incorporating union. Yet, no man diſputes the power of the Crown, according to the prerogative which I have lately ſtated, to operate the former and the greater change even without the aid of Parliament. It is not, then, fair to argue, *a fortiori*, and *a multo fortiori*, that the larger authority of the whole Legiſlature, ſhall be more competent, or much more competent, to the ſmaller change, that is to ſay, to extend the bounds of the empire in a manner congenial and in uniſon with the Conſtitution, as it would do in the meaſure propoſed, than the narrower power of the prerogative can be to the greater change, that is to ſay, to an acceſſion of territory and an union with other countries, on a principle abhorrent from the genius of our Government. Yet the competence of theſe latter acts, whether to the Crown or to the Parliament, has never been diſputed; and reſts, indeed, too firmly on the repeated and ordinary exerciſe of their powers to admit of queſtion.

But let us return to this objection, and admit, that a Legiſlative Union with Ireland, muſt

muſt operate a change on the condition, or even on the Conſtitution of Parliament; and let that change be as conſiderable as the objector would chooſe to ſtate it. Does it follow that ſuch a change on Parliament cannot be made by Parliament, as it may be ſaid in phyſics, that a body cannot act upon itſelf? Such an alteration appears to me, neither more nor leſs than a law, and as ſuch, to fall within the natural province of the law-giver, who, in this country, is the Parliament. How will it be ſhewn that theſe laws, affecting the Conſtitution of Parliament, are alone incompetent to Parliament? Our own experience has taught us the contrary. I dare ſay there are very few of your Lordſhips who have not aſſiſted in the paſſing of laws preciſely of this deſcription, and, however warmly ſuch meaſures may have been reſiſted or debated on other grounds, I will venture to ſay, there is not one of us who has ever heard or known this objection, of the inſufficiency of Parliament, oppoſed to them. The various laws for limiting the duration of parliaments, for regulating elections, for altering the qualification of electors, or elected, for diſfranchiſing offending boroughs, and communicating their franchiſes to ſtrangers, that

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is to ſay, for example, to the freeholders of a neighbouring hundred; all theſe, and many more, falling preciſely within the principle of this objection, have been paſſed, by no higher authority than that of Parliament. What are all thoſe propoſals for what is called ſometimes moderate, ſometimes radical reform, but laws for the alteration, for the total ſubverſion of the Conſtitution of Parliament? To me they have appeared little ſhort of revolution, incipient revolution. Yet, I have never heard one of thoſe, who with ſimilar views of theſe projects, have been better qualified, than myſelf, by talents and weight in this country, to oppoſe them, object the incompetence of Parliament to entertain and to adopt theſe changes in its own Conſtitution, if they ſhould appear expedient.

An alteration of the eſtabliſhed religion, which has always been the work of Parliament, is another change, and a moſt fundamental one in its Conſtitution; ſince the whole parliamentary franchiſe, whether elective or repreſentative, is transferred from one claſs and deſcription of the people to another. The

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whole is taken from all thoſe who poſſeſſed it, and veſted in thoſe who did not.

The laws ſo frequently made by Parliament for altering and regulating the ſucceſſion to the Crown, bears a ſtrong analogy to the caſe which is now objected to, amounting, indeed, to a total change in one whole branch or member of the Parliament.

This objection, then, cannot be maintained *ſimpliciter*, on the incompetence of Parliament to make an alteration on its own conſtitution, or condition; and we muſt come, in fine, to the ſingle point which my imagination can ſuggeſt, as a poſſible ground of diſtinction, namely, the great and ſuperlative importance and magnitude of this tranſaction. We have ſeen that all other caſes of a ſimilar nature, *ejuſdem generis*, are within the acknowledged powers of Parliament, and the daily exerciſe of thoſe powers. But this is a meaſure, we muſt ſay, of ſuch tranſcendent importance, as to exceed the ordinary capacities entruſted by the Conſtitution to Parliament, and to which the inherent ſovereignty of the people itſelf is alone commenſurate.

I can conceive no other rational ſhape into which this argument can be caſt; but is it rational in ſubſtance alſo; or is it not the moſt palpable and the groſſeſt violation of reaſon, the wideſt departure from every ſound principle in the theory either of this conſtitution, or of government in general? It would be ſtrange indeed if this point of ſuperior importance ſhould ſerve my adverſary, ſince it is the very ground on which I reſt moſt firmly my claim of excluſive cognizance to the Parliament.

On what principle is the truſt of legiſlation committed to Parliament at all? Becauſe no people on earth, not even the ſmalleſt population in the ſmalleſt territory, could ever exerciſe a democratic legiſlation in its entire and theoretical purity. If we look back to that moſt antient and ſimple of all conſtitutions, I mean the patriarchal, or the government of families, which has been regarded as the firſt, and original model and archetype of all ſucceeding governments, we ſhall find that even theſe have rejected a mode of adminiſtration which it was, at leaſt, eaſier to execute, within the walls of a ſingle tent, or the bounds of a wandering camp, and amongſt a few individuals,

viduals, than in any other more populous ſtate. Authority was ſtill depoſited with ſelection in fewer hands than the whole even of theſe narrow communities. The heads of families; the chiefs of tribes; the elders; in a word, ſome ſelect body or other, adminiſtered theſe ſmall commonwealths. It would lead to unprofitable length if I were to purſue this reaſoning with minuteneſs, as it would be eaſy to do, up to the concluſion, to which we all aſſent; namely, that the people of England cannot make law for themſelves in any democratic form of conſtitution; that they are not provided or acquainted with any inſtitution which ſhould enable them to perform this feat of ſelf-legiſlation, even if they were deſirous of attempting it. They have no comitia; no aſſemblies of the people in Hyde Park, or St. George's Fields, to the decrees of which the millions of abſent Engliſhmen, owe, or chooſe to acknowledge any obedience. And there being a phyſical impoſſibility to collect their voices individually, even if that phyſical and practical impoſſibility, if I may ſay ſo without the imputation of incorrectneſs, were not the weakeſt objection to ſuch a mode of legiſlation, there is an eſtabliſhed organ of the general

will, qualified by its frame and conſtitution, to apply the collective wiſdom of the nation to its collective intereſts, and to adminiſter the ſovereign power of the ſtate on this ſecure and ſolid foundation. The ſovereignty of Parliament, thus explained, is in the end no more; it is neither more nor leſs, but identically and preciſely the ſame with the ſovereignty of the people itſelf, appearing in the only viſible, tangible or perceptible form in which it can be recognized in this country.

It is, then, firſt, on the vices and inabilities of all other modes by which the voice of the people can be expreſſed, or even its opinions formed agreeable to their general and collective intereſts; and ſecondly, on the peculiar and approved excellence of the Conſtitution which we enjoy, that the authority and ſovereignty of Parliament has been eſtabliſhed.

Let us endeavour, for a moment, to imagine ſome better mode of collecting, in a popular way, the ſenſe of the nation, on any great point of policy or law, or, if you pleaſe, on this ſpecific meaſure. Shall it be by meetings convoked by anonymous hand-bills, in the fields adjoining

adjoining to this metropolis, and directed by orators on carts, tubs, or other moveable roſtra? Every one knows that an Union with Ireland, for the diſcuſſion of which ſuch aſſemblies were to be called, would not be the firſt order of the day. The moſt preſſing ſympathies and fellow feelings of ſuch a legiſlature would be for the ſuffering felons, traitors, or mutineers, in Newgate and Cold-bath-fields. Their firſt and ſecond meaſures, in favour of the liberty and property of the ſubject, would be to deliver the gaols, and emancipate the bank; and they would ſoon ſimplify this intricate and complex Conſtitution, by uniting the legiſlative, the judicial, and the executive powers; as they would abridge the tedious delays of all thoſe functions, by carrying, with their own hands, into inſtant effect, their own laws and judgments. I remember to have ſeen a Parliament deliberate in St. George's-fields in the forenoon; and I do not forget, that on the ſame evening I ſaw London and Weſtminſter in flames. Shall the appeal from Parliament lie to county-meetings, called by the ſheriffs, on the requiſition of a few dozens of ſignatures; and ſhall the people of England be bound in this great intereſt, by a collation of

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the various and diſcordant reſolutions, paſſed by a reſpectable ſhew of hands, at the different Georges and Angels of the kingdom? Shall the magiſtrates at quarter-ſeſſions, ſhall grand juries at aſſizes; or, in fine, ſhall the church-wardens and overſeers of the poor at pariſh veſtries, ſuperſede Parliament, on account of their ſuperior wiſdom and knowledge; and, above all, becauſe they have received a more authentic and direct delegation from the people at large? Or ſhall we prefer, rather, thoſe convivial parliaments which hold their ſittings occaſionally at the different taverns of this city? whoſe reſolutions, moved in the form of toaſts, are agreed to in bumpers; and whoſe laws, propoſed in ſtanzas, to the tune of a ballad, are paſſed in full chorus. Is not this jovial ſyſtem of legiſlation, a mere inverſion of the good old Conſtitution, which, if it permits the electors to be drunk, requires the Parliament to be ſober? But muſt we, then, to ſpeak ſeriouſly, depoſe the Parliament choſen by the people, in favour of theſe ſelf-elected, ſelf-balloted parliaments, attended by every ſmall minorities of that Parliament which was choſen by the people, after they have withdrawn their attendance from that Parliament

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to which the people ſent them? In fine, what is to be the form of this Arch-Parliament, which is to qualify it better than the Britiſh Parliament, as it now ſtands, for legiſlating, juſt in proportion as the ſubject is of higher import and dignity, and of greater compaſs and difficulty, than thoſe ordinary acts of legiſlation to which thoſe high authorities are utterly inadequate and incompetent?

Is it not, then, manifeſt, that a legiſlature in which the ſovereignty of the State is veſted, becauſe every other political body, known in this country, is deficient in the requiſites for common and ordinary legiſlation, and becauſe it is itſelf the moſt perfect model of human polity, in all matters of legiſlation, muſt be yet better entitled to preference and to excluſive and ſovereign juriſdiction, in caſes of great and ſignal importance, than in any other? It ſeems to me, therefore, the ſtrangeſt perverſion of reaſon, and the moſt palpable contradiction and abſurdity, to place the incompetence of Parliament on that ground on which its ſole and excluſive competence moſt firmly and ſecurely reſts; I mean the ſuperior importance of this law.

Having

Having ſpoken to the principle, let us ſee how the queſtion ſtands on authority.

I ſhall not encumber my argument with the authorities which are familiar in every mouth, to prove a poſition, not diſputed in any quarter, namely, the general ſupremacy of Parliament; and I ſhall reſpect your Lordſhips' leiſure ſufficiently to omit the book authorities on this general but fundamental truth, although the paſſages I might refer to, aſſert diſtinctly, as your Lordſhips know, amongſt other examples of the univerſal faculties of Parliament, its competence to this ſpecifick meaſure of a legiſlative Union with other countries.

There are two ſorts of authority: Firſt, the opinions of learned and eminent men. Next, precedent.

To begin with the firſt, and to ſpeak of the *reſponſa prudentum.*

To the learning of the corporations of Dublin, and of the freeholders of the county of Louth, and ſome other counties; to the authority

thority of ſome members of the Iriſh bar, I ſhall oppoſe the Chancellor of Ireland, and the Chiefs of the four Supreme Courts of Law in that country. I ſhall oppoſe the clear and unequivocal ſenſe of the Houſe of Lords of Ireland, evinced not only by its vote, but by the withdrawing that part of the amendment, propoſed originally by Lord Powerſcourt, which involved that queſtion. I ſhall oppoſe the opinion of the majority of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, for I think myſelf entitled to claim the diſſent of that Houſe to this propoſition on a fair and candid view of its proceedings. The Houſe once agreed, by a majority, however ſlender, to entertain the meaſure; and afterwards rejected it by a majority as ſlender; for the difference between one and five hardly deſerves notice. If to this equality of opinion on the principal meaſure be added the conſideration that the oppoſers of the Union did not even tender this propoſition to the Houſe, did not venture to load their queſtion, with that denial of the competence of Parliament, of which it had been found neceſſary actually to relieve the ſame queſtion in the Houſe of Lords, we ſhall hardly doubt of their conſciouſneſs, that in a balance trimmed ſo nicely,

this weighty point would have turned the ſcale againſt them. But as time adds ſanction and reverence to authority, let me cloſe this enquiry by oppoſing to all the raſh and intemperate opinions, or rather declarations of opinion, which the temerity of party ſpirit, or a falſe and miſguided enthuſiaſm, have dictated in Ireland at this day, the ſingle authority of Lord Somers; himſelf, I think, a hoſt, on ſuch a queſtion. If any man in England, or in Ireland, as has been often ſaid of that great man, think himſelf a better Lawyer or a better Whig than Lord Somers, he is welcome to enter the liſts; while I ſhall reſt contented with this ſingle name, ſupported as it might be by a cloud of learned, able, and upright ſtateſmen, lawyers, and friends of liberty from that period to the preſent hour.

Let us now look at precedent. It is not to be expected that there ſhould be many. Such tranſactions muſt be rare. It is enough for my argument, to ſay, that the only examples our hiſtory furniſhes, of Legiſlative Unions, ſince the inſtitution of Parliaments, are precedents in point on the queſtion I am now debating; namely the competence of Parliament to enact

enact them. WALES and SCOTLAND have both been united to England by incorporating, Legiſlative Unions. In both caſes the Parliament alone ſanctioned the meaſure. The union with Scotland is, perhaps, yet more cloſely in point with the preſent propoſal. Since a ſeparate Parliament exiſted in both countries, and the reſpective Parliaments were the parties in the treaty. That treaty was negotiated under the authority of the two Parliaments; they ſanctioned the concluſion; and they executed finally and irreverſibly, that happy ſyſtem, under which we now live ſecure, at the diſtance of almoſt a century.

Although our hiſtory cannot furniſh many precedents of this preciſe meaſure, I mean, of incorporating Unions, there are, however, many examples of other proceedings, bearing a ſtrong anology to the preſent, and equal, if not ſuperior, in importance. I mean thoſe acts of the Legiſlature which have altered the ſucceſſion to the Crown. I need not cite the inſtances of ſuch changes. They are frequent in the Hiſtory of England, and they all prove the ſupreme authority of Parliament, even in theſe higheſt acts of ſovereignty. By what-

ever means ſuch changes have been brought about; whatever has been the efficient cauſe, or inſtrument of ſuch revolutions, they have all derived their ſanction and validity from Parliament, the ſeal of which has always been reſorted to by the new Sovereign, as the only effectual ſecurity for his title, whether he ſtood on a claim eſſentially good, or on ſucceſsful uſurpation. And the anxiety with which the many repetitions of parliamentary recognition have been ſought after, by thoſe who were intereſted in a new or queſtionable title, is remarkable on this argument.

But without dwelling on more antient examples, it is ſurely ſufficient to recall that of the Revolution, which placed King William on the Throne, and the ſubſequent limitation of the Crown to the Houſe of Hanover. Will it be ſaid, that the declaration of King James's abdication, and the vacancy of the Throne, was a point of leſs note or value, or of a lower rank in the ſcale of ſovereign functions, than the Union with Scotland, or Wales, or than the meaſure now in contemplation? Will it be ſaid, that the whole tranſaction of the Revolution was of a lower or meaner claſs and order,

order, in legiſlation, than any Union, or any other national event that is either known or can be imagined. I do not fear that it will.—By what authority, then, was that great change in one branch of the Legiſlature, and in the condition of the nation, operated? To what authority was the Prince of Orange adviſed to reſort, for the ſanction of his enterprize and the ſecurity of his Crown? Obſerve the difference between the circumſtances in which he ſtood, and thoſe in which the preſent proceeding is tendered to Parliament. By the flight and abdication of the King, and the conſequent vacancy of the Throne, an actual and practical diſſolution of the Government ſeemed to have taken place, if it can ever do ſo, in any poſſible or imaginable caſe. It was in ſuch a predicament, if it could happen in any, that the ſuppoſed dormant title of the people to adminiſter the ſovereignty in their own perſons, ſo far at leaſt as regarded the reintegration of the deficient and truncated Government, muſt have been awakened and called into action. That moment was, indeed, different from the preſent, in which we have every branch of the Legiſlature complete, and the whole frame of our Government not only

perfect

perfect and apt to all its purpoſes, but in the actual and daily exerciſe of its functions; and in which we are ourſelves debating this very queſtion concerning parliamentary powers, within the walls of a ſubſiſting Parliament, and in the ordinary diſcharge of our parliamentary duty. Yet, under the circumſtances which I have deſcribed, what did the Prince of Orange reſolve, under the direction of his whig adviſers? Did he apply to the people at large in any new and anomalous form? Was it to county meetings, or aſſemblies in the fields, or, in a word, to any unknown and unuſual organ of the public mind, that he applied to ſanction his title? Far from it. Even the firſt Convention, under the authority of which he afterwards ſummoned the Convention Parliament, was compoſed, in the firſt place, of the Houſe of Lords; and next, of thoſe who had been members of Parliament in the reign of Charles the Second. It will not be ſaid, that theſe perſons had any ſpecific delegation from the people, either for this ſpecial act, or for any other end; either expreſs, by poſitive commiſſion, or implied, by their recent election. A whole reign had elapſed ſince they came from the people. Their delegation and functions had

had been exhauſted and had expired long ſince. Yet, ſo much preferable did this approximation to the regular conſtitutional authority, when an entire conformity with it was impoſſible; ſo much preferable did even this ſhadow, this ſurviving flavour of the parliamentary character, which ſtill hung about theſe relics of a deceaſed Parliament, appear, when compared with any new and ſtrange invention for conjuring up the latent ſovereignty of the people, and ſubſtituting ſome phantom and chimera to repreſent that ſovereignty in the room of its only true and acknowledged form, I mean that of Parliament, that the Prince of Orange did not think the validity of a Convention Parliament, to be ſummoned by his new authority, would ſtand on a ſure foundation, until its convocation ſhould receive the ſanction, if not of a ſubſiſting Parliament, at leaſt of a body as nearly and cloſely reſembling one as the circumſtances admitted. The Convention Parliament was convoked—and that Parliament enacted the Revolution—which, however, was hardly yet deemed perfect, until it was conſummated by the ratification of ſubſequent and yet more regular Parliaments.

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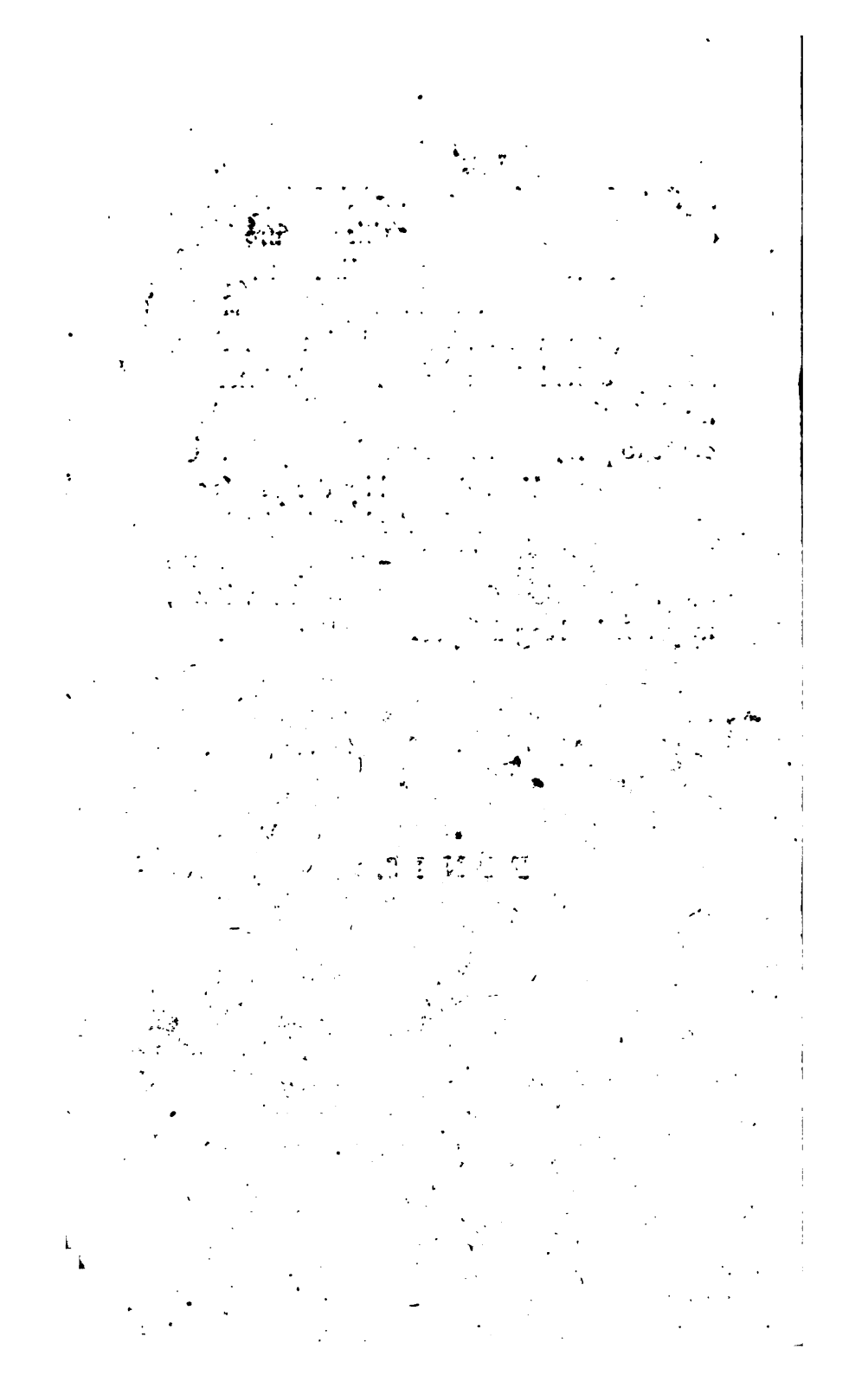
The ſubſequent limitation of the Crown, after the death of the Duke of Glouceſter, was alſo the work of Parliament; and I believe ſo far from deeming that authority incompetent, or wiſhing to rely on any other higher or more tranſcendent power, none of thoſe whig ſtateſmen and lawyers who preſided in every ſtep of the revolution, and who had the proteſtant ſucceſſion at heart, would have thought that great object ſecure, if the limitation to the Princeſs Sophia had ſtood on a decree of the people, conveyed by any other organ than, preciſely that which they employed, I mean the Parliament. If theſe great men, then, were content to reſt the revolution itſelf, that vaſt and prime concern, embracing every other poſſible intereſt of Engliſhmen, on the ſingle and perfect efficacy of an Act of Parliament, we are not to wonder if the ſame men thought the reſpective Parliaments of England and Scotland, the competent, and the only competent inſtruments to accompliſh the Union between the two countries.

What overweening preference is it of our own times, or our own perſons, that ſhould make us thus faſtidious in caſting by, or of inferior

ferior and more imperfect growth, the conſtitutional whiggiſm and wholeſome liberty of the reigns of King William and Queen Ann, to intoxicate ourſelves and our country with that double refined, that ſublimated and adulterated modern drug which is now poiſoning the world. I own, for my part, that I like to ſee, on the liberty of my country, and your Lordſhips know the revered authority by which I am ſupported in that ſentiment, that I like to ſee on my own and my country's liberty the ſeal of the old whigs, and am apt enough to think that counterfeit, which does not bear this mark. I am above all diſpoſed to fly as from certain ruin, the ſpurious philoſophy, the ſophiſticated, and fatal abſtractions, which ſo far from lighting us to the temple of liberty, are but decoys to plunge the world into the toils of wretchedneſs and ſlavery. I confeſs, then, that I recoil with diſguſt and not without alarm, from every pretence for diſavowing or ſuperſeding our eſtabliſhed government, however qualified in time, occaſion or limited purpoſe. I cannot think thoſe men profitable ſervants of their country, nor do I think their country diſpoſed to regard them as friends, who would weaken in the breaſts of

Engliſhmen the native and rooted love of our boaſted government and laws; and divert the ſettled allegiance of the happieſt people upon earth, from the eſtabliſhed ſovereignty of Parliament, in which, however, is inſeparably bound up the whole of the ſecurity, proſperity and freedom, preſent and to come, of the Britiſh nation. And I muſt hold every propoſal to abdicate or ſurrender the ſovereign power of Parliament, but for an hour, into the hands of any ſtrangers to the conſtitution, that is to ſay, into any other hands whatever, as a mere fraud upon the people; as a groſs violation of its moſt precious privilege; as a flagrant invaſion of the deareſt birth-right of Engliſhmen, which conſiſts according to me in the right to be governed by their Parliaments, and by no other human means.

There are a variety of topics, as your Lordſhips well know, to which I have not even alluded, and on ſome of which I ſhould certainly be diſpoſed to ſay a few words; but, in truth, I have already abuſed your indulgence, not only much too long, but, I am conſcious, alſo, much too tediouſly; and I therefore refrain—very grateful for having been permitted to

to ſtate ſuch reaſons as have ſatisfied my mind, on the whole matter, that this meaſure is expedient in itſelf, and that Parliament is competent to execute it. I have expreſſed a ſtrong opinion, that the Union of theſe two nations, already united by nature in their intereſts, muſt, in the order of human events, neceſſarily come to paſs; and I ſhall conclude by a ſincere and fervent prayer, dictated by the pureſt and the moſt ardent deſire for the happineſs of both kingdoms, that the bleſſings ſure to flow from a conſummation ſo devoutly to be wiſhed, may not be long delayed.

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